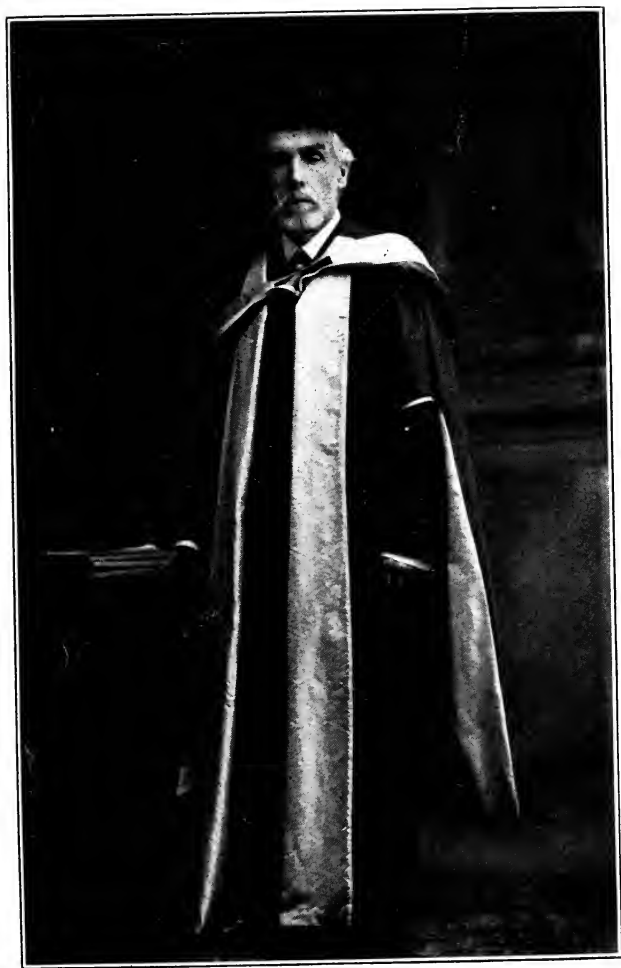




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JESSE HAWORTH LL.D.
1835-1920.

First President Manchester Egyptian Association.



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SESSION 1915-16

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EDITORIAL NOTE

WITH the present number, the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* reaches its fifth year of publication. In spite of the war, which of necessity has directed the chief energies of many of our supporters into new channels, we have been able to survive and in some respects even to make progress. For this we have to thank our Journal-members, subscribers of donations to our Special Publications Fund, our Lecturers, and the contributors of important articles. From all these we have received generous help.

In consequence of the war, the need and value of such societies, lectures, and publications as ours are likely to be realised more fully than ever before. On the camping grounds of Egypt and Mesopotamia many members of the British Army—some of them University students—are experiencing a new, or a renewed and intensified, interest in the Arabic Language and Literature, in Egyptology, and in Assyriology. In these circumstances there is every reason to hope that before long the scientific study of such subjects in the British Empire will receive a powerful impetus.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

The University, Manchester,
September, 1916.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archæology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any way possible.
- (iii.) To issue, if possible, a Journal. If this is not possible, to print at least a Report, including abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Society.¹

SUBSCRIPTIONS

- (a) For ordinary members, 5s. per annum (student members, 2s. 6d.).
- (b) For Journal members, 10s. 6d., of which 5s. 6d. is assigned to the Special Publications Fund.

Subscriptions are due in January.

PUBLICATIONS

Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society for 1911,
published 1912 5s. od. net.

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society
for 1912, published 1913; for 1913, published 1914;
for 1914, published 1915; for 1915, published 1916 5s. od. net.

The more important articles can be purchased separately.

Manchester Egyptian Association Report, 1909-1912 ... each os. 3d. net.

Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society Report, 1912-13,
1913-14, 1914-15 1s. 6d. net.

List of Books on Egyptology published September, 1912, to
September, 1913, and Catalogue of Library of the
Society os. 6d. net.

¹ There is a *Special Publications Fund*, for which subscriptions and donations are invited.

REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN & ORIENTAL SOCIETY 1916

POSITION OF THE SOCIETY

AT END OF SESSION 1915-16

THE continuance of the European War has naturally restricted the activities of the Society and but four meetings were held during the session. These, however, of which details are given under "Proceedings," p. 11, were well attended. The number of resignations (nine) is less than might have been expected, and the Society still numbers one hundred members. The new members are but three, yet a special welcome is due to each of them. First we may mention Sir Henry Miers, who, directly after his installation as Vice-Chancellor of the University showed a great interest in the Society and was good enough to accept the office of a Vice-President. Secondly, we have been strengthened by the accession to our ranks of Dr. Alphonse Mingana, Semitic Palæographist of the John Rylands Library, and now (July, 1916) a member of the Staff of the University. Thirdly, members will note with pleasure the entrance of Mrs. Maurice Canney into the Society.

The number of books and pamphlets added to our collection is 21, making a total of 192. The most important addition is *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, a recently published volume by Dr. Alan Gardiner. This was presented by the author, a valuable and welcome token of his continued interest in the Society.

Both he and Dr. Elliot Smith continue most kindly to send us reprints of papers contributed to various Journals. Our thanks are rendered to the donors of these most acceptable gifts. A list of the additions to our collection received since September, 1915 will be found on p. 20. The inclusion of Lord Kitchener's name in this list is a reminder that in the sad death of the late Secretary for War the Country has lost not only a great soldier, but also one who in more peaceful activities did work of great importance in Egypt, Palestine, and elsewhere. His achievements in Egypt, the benefits of which operated in all directions are fresh in the public memory. We are carried further back when we recall that from 1874 to 1878 he was engaged upon the Palestinian Survey and from 1878 to 1882 upon the Cyprus Survey. As a Society which is interested specially in Egypt and Egyptology, Palestine and the adjoining countries, we take mournful note of the loss of one whose work, apart from his great military services, came into touch with that of Egyptologists and Orientalists.

The attention of members is called to the new "General Guide" to the Manchester Museum, price 3d. This devotes thirteen pages to the Egyptian collection as well as several plates. A demand for it would encourage the Committee to bring out Guides for the various departments.

The cessation of excavation in Egypt by English Societies has caused the flow of antiquities to our Museum to cease. Two out of the three public lectures advertised to be delivered by Mr. T. Eric Peet last October on the Egyptians "at Work," "at Play," and "at War," as well as his University course on Egyptian language had also to be abandoned, much to the regret of many, owing to Mr. Peet obtaining a commission in the A.S.C. and proceeding to Salonika.

Mr. Bedale, lecturer in Assyriology, left us during the Session to serve as a Chaplain to the Forces, but his work was carried on by Mr. M. Farbridge. Many other members of the Council and the Society are engaged in war work either with the Forces or in England, and to all we wish a happy end to their labours, through peace, ere our next Report is due.

W. M. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1915—1916

THE **First Meeting** of the Session was held on October 7th, 1915, the President in the Chair. Before the Society proceeded to other business, a report on its position was read by the Treasurer-Secretary and the officers were re-elected. It was resolved to ask the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sir Henry Miers, to allow his name to be added to the list of Vice-Presidents. It was resolved further that the Bishop of Salford should act as Chairman of the Society during the absence of the President, Dr. J. H. Moulton, in India.

The President, who was about to leave for India immediately, then delivered from the Chair an address on "Some Problems of East and West." He said he proposed to confine himself to the bearing of language on the question of the first beginnings of the Indo-European peoples. What was the place from which these peoples radiated? Originally it was assumed that it was from a place somewhere in Asia. But about fifty years ago Latham suggested that the place of radiation was more probably somewhere in Europe. In the last decades opinion had been swaying a good deal. Johannes Schmidt, for instance, thought he found contact with Babylonia. He suggested that certain

primitive Indo-European words were borrowed from Babylonia. It is better, however, to assume the correctness of the common view—the view that the people, the still united people, who spoke Indo-European in prehistoric times came from somewhere in Europe. But from where? Dr. Moulton thought it best to assume that they went from the East of Europe, though opinion was divided as to whether it was from the shores of the Baltic or from a place nearer the Black Sea. The question arose whether the race could be determined by the linguistic evidence. But here there are great difficulties. The lecturer pointed out that there is sometimes a great gulf between people who speak the same languages or languages closely akin. French and Spanish have Latin antecedents, but there is a great difference between Frenchmen and Spaniards. English and German are closely related, but the peoples differ greatly. The English and the Germans had dealt very differently with a speech of common origin. Again, the languages of the Hindu and the Persian were related closely, but the peoples differed widely. There would seem to have arisen in prehistoric times a marked cleavage in the speech of East and West. The problems were such that Dr. Moulton was led to put the question to ethnologists whether we had not reason to believe that there must have been an extraordinary number of movements in prehistoric times of which no record at all had been preserved, though on linguistic grounds they seemed highly probable.

The address was followed by a discussion, in which Prof. Elliot Smith took part. Prof. Elliot Smith expressed great interest in the address, and said that undoubtedly there were a number of migrations in prehistoric times of which no record had been preserved.

Before the audience dispersed, the Society took farewell of its President. The Bishop of Salford said that he was sure he was voicing the feeling of the meeting when he wished Dr. Moulton a successful and satisfactory visit to India and a safe return at the appointed time.

THE **Second Meeting** of the Session was held on November 26th, 1915, Professor Canney in the Chair. Professor Elliot Smith delivered an address on "The Relation of Egypt to the Early History of Navigation." The address was illustrated by many lantern slides which seemed to demonstrate a striking similarity in details between boats used in India and even in S. America and those of ancient Egypt. In the discussion which followed, Mr. H. D. Skinner, Ethnologist to the Wellington Museum, New Zealand, brought forward corroborative evidence from New Zealand. The address, with additional matter, has been put into the form of an article, and will be found on p. 63 of the Journal.

THE **Third Meeting** of the Session was held on February 18th, 1916, the Bishop of Salford in the Chair. Professor G. Unwin delivered an address on "Eastern Factors in the Growth of Modern Cities: Baghdad and St. Nicholas."

The central body of fact dealt with in Professor Unwin's paper consisted of the widespread dedication during the early Middle Ages of churches and fraternities to St. Nicholas of Myra in Lycia. He attempted to establish the connection of the dedications on the one hand with the spread of commercial usages and gild organisations from the Levant westwards and on the other hand with the simultaneous spread of a particular method of city construction and city expansion which had been practised from the earliest historic times in Mesopotamia, and was especially exemplified in the foundation of Baghdad by the Caliph Mansur in 776 A.D.

An approximate continuity of international and intercontinental trade through forty centuries of endless racial and political change was rendered more probable by the discovery of the code of Hammurabi. The forms of commercial partnership and agency, investment and credit, found in the Babylon of 2000 B.C. were very similar to those prevalent in the Mecca of Mahomet

(Margoliouth) or in the Upper Egypt of Mehemet Ali (Burckhardt's *Nubia*). Greek and Roman commerce needed interpreting as episodes, as offshoots of this larger continuity.

Dr. Scott Ferguson's detailed study of the commerce of Delos in the second century B.C. was of great interest and value in this connection (*Hellenistic Athens*). At that time Delos was the principal intercontinental market for slaves. The dedications to Isis, Hermes, and the Tyrian Hercules of the fraternities with club-houses and chapels of the merchants who frequented it, pointed to their descent as institutions from a much earlier time, whilst, on the other hand, they were almost identical in their social and religious character with the merchant gilds of the early Middle Ages. One of the chief patron deities of commerce at Delos was naturally Poseidon; and later, in the second century A.D., a gild of merchants dedicated to Poseidon still existed at Tanais, at the mouth of the Don (Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*). Tanais, which had long been under the influence of a cosmopolitan Judaism, was a frontier post of that Levantine world, whose curious transitional blend of more primitive custom with Hellenism and with Christianity has been interpreted by Sir W. Ramsay and Professor Calder. Fraternities, at first Pagan, but afterwards Christian, played a large part in that world.

The cult of Poseidon amongst sea-faring merchants was displaced by the veneration of St. Nicholas of Myra in Lycia (Lawton, *Modern Greek Folklore*) to whom a church was dedicated by Justinian at Constantinople in 530 A.D. Until the rise of the Italian republics the Levantine region, of which St. Nicholas thus became the tutelary genius, remained the seat of active commerce in Europe and the intermediary through which the products and the technique of the more advanced industries of Mesopotamia and Central Asia, China and India slowly passed into the civilisation of the West. Greek and Syrian Christians were the first agents of this intercourse, as is shown by the earliest dedications of Florentine churches (Davidsohn, *Gesch. v. Florenz*) to St. Miniata, a Greek, in 250 A.D. and to St. Reparata, a Syrian, about 400 A.D.; but

after the rise of Islam Arabs played a large part, and Offa's gold tribute to Rome in the eighth century was paid in Arab *dinars* (*Brit. Numis. Journal*, Vol. V).

Of this world of mingled Byzantine and Mohammedan commerce and culture the centre, from the ninth century to the twelfth, tended to gravitate towards Baghdad, owing to the rapid growth of the commerce and the industries of the cities of Central Asia—Nishapur and Merv, Bokhara and Samarcand, etc., and the circumference was marked by Venice, Genoa, and the cities of Moorish Spain. The main links between Baghdad and the West lay in Alexandria, Antioch and the Syrian cities.

The Crusades were not the cause of the increased intercourse between East and West, but rather an effect of the rivalries that grew out of it, and a serious hindrance to its peaceful and healthy development. Incidentally the disturbance and unrest they produced would have the effect of inducing many Levantine traders to settle westwards, and the simultaneous expansion of urban trade and industry favoured the movement.

The spread of St. Nicholas dedications began at this period. In the last decade of the eleventh century Venice and Bari were contending for the possession of the saint's body and a large proportion of the churches erected at new ports or new markets throughout Northern Europe were dedicated to St. Nicholas. Unmistakable instances of the connection between St. Nicholas and new settlements of traders were found at Brussels, Ghent, Amsterdam, Middleburg, Leyden, Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Frankfort-on-Maine, Prague, Stockholm, Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Chartres, London, Newcastle, Durham, Bristol, Liverpool, Yarmouth, Rochester.

Other causes, unconnected with trade, assisted to make St. Nicholas the most popular saint of the Middle Ages. There were 385 dedications in England alone, many in insignificant villages. Nor must it be supposed that where the connection with trade influence was undoubted, a settlement of Levantine traders

was necessarily indicated. But the conclusion seemed irresistible that the rapid spread of the cult at ports and markets implied the activity of Levantine influences either through the migration of the traders themselves or through the adoption of their methods and traditions in the West.

Professor Unwin then proceeded to illustrate by a number of slides the connection between these dedications and a specific type of city-formation. He approached the subject by exhibiting first the various types of city-formation based on the use of natural defences, *e.g.*, the hill type, the island type and the promontory type; then the Roman type of city defended by walls, generally commanding a ford or bridge but built well out of the river; and, finally, the specifically mediæval type of city, which setting out from a nucleus of high and dry ground in or near a river, found expansion by reclamation of ground from the water in successive portions, often forming a concentric pattern. This type of city-formation, in which the arts of canalisation and embankment were applied simultaneously to the purposes of defence, navigation, and water power, was almost universal in Holland, Belgium, and N. Germany, and very common in France and N. Italy, whilst Kings Lynn, Oxford, and Bristol afforded good examples in England. Now in the three last cases, and in a great many others, *e.g.*, Hamburg, Berlin, Brussels, Leyden, Paris, Florence and many others, churches of St. Nicholas stood on ground thus reclaimed; and other Levantine dedications—those of St. Margaret of Antioch and St. Catherine of Alexandria were frequently found on similar sites, *e.g.*, at Kings Lynn and Hamburg. These facts seemed to suggest that the new methods of engineering which were undoubtedly being used in the construction and expansion of nearly all western cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been derived through the Levant from Mesopotamia where they had been known and employed for thousands of years. In support of this the plan of Les Andelys, where engineering works of this kind were carried out by Richard Cœur de Lion probably with Saracenic assistance, was compared with that of Cairo as enlarged by reclamation of

the Nile under Saladin and his successors; and it was pointed out that Venice, which was the earliest European instance of this type of city, grew up under predominantly Levantine influences in a specially close connection with Alexandria which was also built on reclaimed soil; that the foundation of Damascus and other cities of Syria, of Persia, and Central Asia had involved great engineering skill in canalisation and, finally, that the plan of Baghdad, as founded by the Caliph Mansur in 776, showed the deliberate adoption of the concentric principle which was afterwards so widely applied in Northern Europe in close connection with Levantine dedications.

THE Fourth Meeting of the Session was held on March 16th, 1916, the Bishop of Salford in the Chair. Monsieur L. de la Vallée Poussin, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Ghent, gave a lecture on "Nirvāṇa." The lecturer pointed out at the start that Nirvāṇa is a thoroughly Indian conception, and that we cannot hope to succeed in our endeavour to understand what it means unless we are prepared to abandon all our European and Aristotelian prejudices. Indian thought is not troubled, as ours claims to be, by the principle of contradiction. The following points are beyond doubt. (1) Nirvāṇa is the *summum bonum*. (2) This *summum bonum* may be reached here on earth in the actual life. Nirvāṇa="Arhatship," that is to say, the state of a living Saint (*Arhat*), free from desire, and, to some extent, free from discursive thought. (3) Nirvāṇa is also the condition of a Saint after death. Is this condition a "state?" Or is it "annihilation?" That is the difficult question.

(1) It has been maintained by some Buddhists from the beginning that Nirvāṇa is some kind of existence. This opinion is in flagrant contradiction with the metaphysical doctrines that are commonly accepted by the great majority of the Buddhist brotherhood, but there were heretics even in the earliest ages.

(2) The metaphysical doctrines in question (*viz.*, as to the non-existence of any soul or permanent principle) would require us to admit that Nirvāṇa is annihilation. A Saint is not re-born, whereas "ordinary beings," men endowed with desire, are re-born according to their merits. There are passages in the Scriptures that support strongly the identification of Nirvāṇa with annihilation.

(3) But there is good reason to believe that such an identification was not the original intention of Śākyamuni. Rather is it a "logical" conclusion which was forced upon the Sthaviras (the Elders or Presbyteroi) by their admission that "there is no soul." We may take it that the most authentic records we possess of the genuine teaching of the Śākyamuni are the celebrated texts (forming part of the canons of all the sects) which state that the problem of "the state of a Saint after death" is a question "not to be answered," "put aside." In so many words, Śākyamuni answers the inquiry as follows: "You are not concerned with this question. Whatever be the case, whether Nirvāṇa is existence or non-existence, or existence and non-existence, or neither existence nor non-existence, you have to reach Nirvāṇa, and in order to do so, you have to crush desire." And this agnostic statement is certainly in accordance with everything we know of the essentially practical character of Buddhism. In order to crush desire, that is to say, in order to become a Saint, it is necessary to expel every fear and hope, and therefore to dismiss any theory whatever concerning the state of a soul after death.

At the conclusion of the lecture, a hearty vote of thanks was proposed by Professor Herford and seconded by Professor Canney. Professor Herford complimented the lecturer on his remarkably successful effort to lecture in English. Professor Canney said that we welcomed Monsieur de la Vallée Poussin amongst us both as an eminent Oriental scholar and as an editor of the important Oriental journal, *Le Muséon*. In the name of the Society, he congratulated the editor on the continued publication of that journal. Monsieur de la Vallée Poussin had taken

an interest in our own *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, for which we were grateful. In conclusion, the seconder said he was sure he expressed the feeling of every member of the Society and of the audience when he said that Monsieur and Madame de la Vallée Poussin had our great sympathy in the present circumstances and our very best wishes for their own future and the future of their country.*

* All the Meetings of the Session were held at the University.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ADDED TO
THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY
SINCE SEPTEMBER 1915

*Books may be borrowed (by members only) by applying
to the Treasurer-Secretary at the
Manchester Museum*

The catalogue published 1913, may be had, price 6d.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, 1915-16, to date.¹

British School of Archæology in Egypt, "Heliopolis, Kafe Ammar and Shurafa," by W. M. Flinders Petrie, E. Mackay and others, pp. 55, pls. lvii. London, 1915.

Cowley, A. E.—

"Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," (reprint from J. E. A. III, 1). London, 1916.²

Crompton, W. M.—

"Two Clay Balls in Manchester Museum" (reprint from J. E. A. III, 2) p. 1, pl. i. London, 1916.²

"How Time was measured by the Ancient Egyptians" (leaflet, reprint from "Halifax Courier," June 10, 1916).²

Gardiner, A. H.—

"Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet" (reprint from J. E. A. III, 1, pp. 15, pls. v). London, 1916.²

"Some Personifications, I. Hiké, God of Magic" (reprint) pp. 10, pl. i. London, 1915.²

"Notes on the Story of Sinuhe" (reprint from Recueil de Travaux) pp. 193. Paris, 1916.²

Jackson, J. W.—

Use of shells for purposes of currency (abstract of paper read at Lit. Phil. Soc., M/c., 1916).²

"The Aztec Moon-cult and its relation to the Chank-cult of India," pp. 5.²

"The Geographical Distribution of the Shell-Purple Industry," pp. 29.²

"Shell-Trumpets and their Distribution in the Old and New World," pp. 22.²

"The Money Cowry as Sacred Object among N. American Indians," pp. 10.

(Four above from vol. 60, part II of "Memoirs and Proceedings of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," Session 1915-16.)

Jaini, Jagmanderlal.—

"Outlines of Jainism," pp. 156. Cambridge, 1916.⁴

Kitchener, H. H.—

"Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Palestine photographs, taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund," pp. 22. London.³

Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.—
Journal, 1914-15.

Manchester Museum.—

"General Guide to the Collections in the Manchester Museum," pp. 66, pls. viii, plan. Manchester, 1915.¹

Manchester University.—

"Catalogue of Publications of. Manchester, 1915.¹

Milne, J. G.—

"Leaden Tokens from Memphis" (reprint from J. E. A. III, 2, pp. 107-120). London, 1916.³

"Le Monde Oriental," vol. IX, fasc. 2, 3, 1915; vol. X, fasc. 1, 1916. Uppsala University.¹

Rylands Library Bulletin, vol. III, 1915-16, to date.¹

Smith, G. Elliot.—

"Commencement of the Neolithic Phase of Culture" (leaflet). Manchester, 1916.²

"The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilisation in the East and in America" (reprint from Bulletin John Rylands Library, vol. III, No. 1, 1916) pp. 32, pls. 7.²

"Pre-Columbian Representations of the Elephant" (leaflet). Manchester, 1916.²

¹ Exchange. ² Presented by the author. ³ Presented by Manchester Museum.

⁴ Presented by the Jain Literature Society.

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ACCOUNTS FROM AUGUST 6TH, 1915, TO AUGUST 6TH, 1916.

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
By Balance from last year	6 17 4	Advertising	1 13 0
" Subscriptions	16 3 6	Subs., British School in Egypt	2 2 0
" Donation (Anonymous)	3 0 0	" Assoc. Committee of Educational Societies	0 5 0
" Bank Interest, <i>less</i> Commission	0 2 4	Lecturer's Fee and Travelling Expenses	4 15 0
		Petty Cash	2 0 0
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		Balance	14 8 8
	£26 3 2		£26 3 2

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September 14th, 1916.

Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.

**SPECIAL PAPERS
& ARTICLES**

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE KUR'ĀN

By ALPHONSE MINGANA.

NOT many sacred books are better known than the Kur'ān, and only a few of them have more obscure origins. The outcome of early Kur'ānic researches was summarised in Hammer's well-known verdict: "We hold the Kur'ān to be as truly Muhammad's word as the Muhammadans hold it to be the word of God." This, however, has not been found in the last few years to be irrefragable. Scholars who like Nöldeke had believed that the Kur'ān was wholly authentic, without any interpolation—"Keine Fälschung; der Korān enthält nur echte stücke"¹—were obliged to revise their opinion and admit without restriction the possibility of interpolations ("Ich stimme aber mit Fischer darin überein, dass die Möglichkeit von interpolationen in Qorān unbedingt zugegeben werden muss").²

In England, where the views of Nöldeke had gathered considerable weight, no serious attempt was made for some years to study the subject afresh. It is, therefore, with warm welcome that one receives original and well-considered opinions such as those found in Hirschfeld's *New Researches*, in St. Clair Tisdall's *Original Sources*, and in D. S. Margoliouth's masterly publications.³ The first writer has suggested that the four verses in which the name "Muhammad" occurs were spurious.⁴ In the

¹*Orientälische Skizzen*, p. 56.

²*Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2nd edit. by Schwally, 1909, p. 99, No. 1.

³The accusation very recently directed against the Arabists of this country by a well-known writer, that they are still living on Muir, is a meagre tribute to the leading Arabist of Oxford and his colleagues of Cambridge; to take as examples some second-hand authors and scientifically worthless Islamisers, is highly unjust.

⁴*New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qorān*, p. 139.

same sense many good works have lately appeared in France, the gist of which is embodied in Lammens's studies in the series *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, and in the interesting book of Casanova who has demonstrated convincingly the existence of many interpolated passages.¹

We do not intend to offer in the present essay an exhaustive investigation of the sacred book of Islām, nor to dilate on minutiae regarding a given verse in particular; we propose to write on something more essential and more general, on the all-important question of how the book called al-Kur'ān, which most of us read in a more scientific and comparative way than a Zamakhshari or a Baidāwi ever knew, has come to be fixed in the form in which we read it in our days.

I.

TRANSMISSION OF THE KUR'ĀN ACCORDING TO MUSLIM WRITERS.

THE first historical data about the collection of the Kur'ān have come down to us by the way of oral *Hadīth*, and not of history. This is very unfortunate; because a critic is thrown into that medley and compact body of legends, true or false, genuine or spurious, which began to receive unchallenged credit at the time of the recrudescence of Islāmic orthodoxy which gave birth to the intolerant Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861). The reader is thus astonished to find that the earliest record about the compilation of the Kur'ān is transmitted by Ibn Sa'd (A.D. 844) and by the traditionists Bukhāri (A.D. 870) and Muslim (A.D. 874). Before their time nothing is known with certainty, not even with tolerable probability, and the imposing enumeration of early commentators dwindles in face of the fact that two-thirds of their authority and at least one-third of their historicity are thrust back into the mist of the prehistoric; at

¹ *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, 2 ème fascicule, *Notes Complémentaires*, pp. 149-156.

the most they could have been some of those oral "Kur'ā's" of whom L. Caetani has spoken in his *Annali dell' Islām*.¹

The most ancient writer, Ibn Sa'ad, has devoted in his *ṭabakāt*² a long chapter to an account of those of the "Companions" who had "collected" the Kur'ān in the time of the Prophet. He has preserved *ten* somewhat contradictory traditions, in which he enumerates ten different persons, each with a list more or less numerous of traditions in his favour;³ these persons are: Ubayy ibn Ka'b (with eleven traditions); Mu'adh (with ten traditions); Zaid ibn Thābit (with eight traditions); Abu Zaid (with seven traditions); Abud-Dardā (with six traditions); Tamīmud-Dārī (with three traditions); Sa'ad ibn 'Ubad (with two traditions); 'Ubādah ibnus Sāmit (with two traditions); Abu Ayyūb (with two traditions); 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (with two traditions).

On page 113 another curious tradition informs us that it was 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān who collected the Kur'ān *under the Caliphate of 'Umar*, and, therefore, not in the time of the Prophet. Another tradition reported by the same author, already noticed by Nöldeke,⁴ attributes the collection of the Kur'ān in *ṣuḥuḥs* to the caliph 'Umar himself.

The second in date, but the most important, Muslim traditionist, Bukhārī, has a very different account in connection with the collectors of the Kur'ān in the time of the Prophet.⁵ According to one tradition which he reports, these collectors were *four Helpers*: Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Mu'adh ibn Jabal, Zaid ibn Thābit, Abu Zaid.⁶ According to another tradition they were: Abud-Dardā, Mu'adh ibn Jabal, Zaid ibn Thābit, Abu Zaid.

On page 392 is found the famous tradition endorsed by many

¹ Cf. *The Moslem World*, 1915, pp. 380, sq.

² Edit. Schwally, II, pp. 112-114.

³ Cf. Casanova, *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴ *Geschichte des Qurāns*, 1860, p. 193.

⁵ Bukhārī, III, p. 397 (edit. Krehl).

⁶ The same tradition is copied by *Muslim*, II, p. 494 (edit. Dehli) and by *Tirmidhi*, II, p. 309 (edit. Bulāḳ).

historians, and recently by the present writer also,¹ on the authority of Nöldeke; it states that the Kur'ān was collected in the time of Abu Bakr, and not in the time of the Prophet:

"We have been told by Mūsa b. Ismā'il, who heard it from Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, who heard it from ibn Shihāb, who in his turn heard it from 'Ubaid b. Sabbāk, who related that Zaid b. Thābit said: "At the massacre of Yamāmah, Abu Bakr summoned me,² while 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb was with him;" and Abu Bakr said: "Slaughter has waxed hot among the readers of the Kur'ān, in the day of Yamāmah, and I fear that it may again wax hot among the readers in other countries as well; and that much may be lost from the Kur'ān. Now, therefore, I deem that thou shouldest give orders for the collection of the Kur'ān." I said to 'Umar, "How doest thou something that the Apostle of God—may God pray on him and give him peace—has not done?" And 'Umar said: "By Allah, this is good." And 'Umar did not cease to renew it repeatedly to me, until God set my breast at ease towards it, and I considered it as 'Umar had considered it. Zaid added and said: "Abu Bakr then said 'Thou art a young man and wise, against whom no man can cast an imputation, and thou wast writing down the Revelation for the Apostle of God—may God pray on him and give him peace—search out then the Kur'ān and collect it.' By Allah, if I were ordered to transfer a mountain it would not have been more difficult for me than this order to collect the Kur'ān; and I said: "How canst thou do something that the Apostle of God—may God pray on him and give him peace—has not done;" and (Abu Bakr) said: "By Allah, this is good;" and he did not cease to renew it repeatedly to me, until God set my heart at ease towards it, as He has done for 'Umar and Abu Bakr—may God be pleased with both of them—and I sought out the Kur'ān, collecting it from palm-branches, white-stones, and breasts of men. . . . And the *Suhufs* (rolls) were with Abu Bakr until God took him to Himself, then with 'Umar, in all his life-time, then with Hafsah,

¹ *Leaves from three Ancient Kur'āns*, 1914.

² The speaker is Zaid ibn Thābit mentioned in the foregoing traditions.

the daughter of 'Umar—may God be pleased with him."¹ This tradition proves that the Kur'ān was all collected (a) under the caliphate of Abu Bakr, and (b) exclusively by Zaid ibn Thābit.

The tradition is immediately followed by another which runs thus:

"We have been told by Mūsa b. Ismā'il, who took it from Ibrāhīm, who said that he had been told by Ibn Shihāb, who said that Anas b. Mālik told him as follows: 'Hudaifah b. Yamān went to 'Uthmān, and he had fought with the inhabitants of Syria for the conquest of Armenia and had fought in Adhurbaijān with the inhabitants of 'Irāk; and because their divergencies in the recital of the Kur'ān had terrified him, Hudhaifah said to 'Uthmān "O, Commander of the Faithful, overtake this nation before they have discrepancies about the Book as the Jews and the Christians have."' 'Uthmān, therefore, sent to Hafsah saying: "Send us the *Suhufs* in order that we may transcribe them in the *masāhifs*; and then we will send them back to thee." And Hafsah sent them to 'Uthmān, who ordered Zaid ibn Thābit, and 'Abdallah b. Zubair, and Sa'id b. 'Ās, and 'Abdur-Rahmān b. Hārith b. Hishām, to transcribe them in the *masāhifs*. And 'Uthmān said to the company of the three Kuraishites: "If there is divergence between you and Zaid b. Thābit about anything from the Kur'ān, write it down in the dialect of the Kuraishs, because it has been revealed in their dialect;"² and they did it, and when they transcribed the *suhufs* in the *masāhifs*, 'Uthmān gave back the *suhufs* to Hafsah, and sent to every country a *mishaf* of what they had transcribed, and ordered that everything else from the Kur'ān (found) in (the form of) *Sahifah* or *mishaf* should be burnt."³

This is the oral record which, appearing 238 years after the Prophet's death, was accepted as true and authentic, to the exclusion of any other, by the most eminent Orientalists of the

¹ This same tradition is reported in III, 257, and in IV, 398.

² This information has been copied by another traditionist (*Tirmidhi*, II, 187) and by many subsequent writers.

³ *Var.* "torn up."

last century, led by Nöldeke. Why we should prefer these two traditions to the great number of the above traditions sanctioned by Ibn Sa'd, an author anterior by twenty-six years to Bukhāri, and by Bukhāri himself, I do not know. Professor Casanova remarks: "Quant à admettre une seule des traditions comme vraie au détriment de l'autre, c'est ce qui me paraît impossible sans tomber dans l'arbitraire."¹ Nöldeke, however, believes that Bukhāri is right and Ibn Sa'd wrong, because if the Kur'ān was collected in the time of the Prophet, why should people have taken such trouble to collect it after his death? ("Wenn sie aber den ganzen Qorān gesammelt hatten, warum bedurfte es denn später so grosser Mühe, denselben Zusammenzubringen?").² But the question is, Why should we prefer at all the story of Bukhāri to that of Ibn Sa'd who is at least credited with priority of time? What should we do then with the other two traditions of Bukhāri which are in harmony with Ibn Sa'd in assigning the collection of the Kur'ān to the lifetime of the Prophet? What, too, should we make of the tradition reported by Ibn Sa'd to the effect that the Kur'ān was collected by 'Uthmān b. 'Affan alone, under the caliphate of 'Umar? What, finally, should we say about the numerous persons who in the traditions reported above alternate so confusedly in this "collection?" Which of them has effectively collected and which of them has not?

In examining carefully all these oral traditions coming into play more than 230 years after the events, at the time of those numerous polemics in which the Muslim writers were obliged to use the same weapons as those handled by the *People of the Book*, we are tempted to say that the same credence ought to be attributed to them as that which has long ago been attributed to the other *Isnādīc* lucubrations of which only those who read the detailed oral compilations of Bukhāri and his imitators have a true idea. "La (critique) a mis en pleine lumière la faible valeur documentaire, sinon de la primitive littérature islamique, du moins du riche développement ultérieur, représenté notamment

¹ Ibid., II, 105.

² *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1860, p. 160.

par le recueil de Bokhāri."¹ Another authorised writer² has justly pointed out: "Les détails qui entourent cette figure principale (de Muhammad) sont vraiment bien estompés et finissent même par s'effacer dans la brume de l'incertitude." Not many years ago similar honours of genuineness were conferred upon the imposing list of the so-called "early Arabian poems," but the last nail for the coffin of the majority of them has lately been provided by Professor D. S. Margoliouth;³ and it is to be hoped that, until fuller light dawns, they will never rise again.

We quote, with some reserve, the ironical phrases of an able French scholar: "Nous l'avons noté précédemment: à côté des poètes, nous possédons la *Sira*, les *Maghāzi*, les *Sahih*, les *Mosnad*, les *Sonan*, bibliothèque historique unique en son genre, comme étendue et variété. A leur témoignage concordant qui oserait dénier toute valeur?"⁴

We can dispense with traditional compilers of a later date who throw more confusion than light on the theme, and who for the most part only quote their masters Bukhāri, Muslim, and Tirmidhi; Nöldeke has already referred to the majority of them,⁵ and the critic who has time to spare, can easily examine them in his book. We must mention, however, the account of the author of the *Fihrist* who, although writing several years after the above traditionists, is nevertheless credited with a considerable amount of encyclopædic learning which many a writer could not possess in his time. After giving the tradition of Bukhāri which we have translated, he devotes a special paragraph to the "Collectors of the Kur'ān in the time of the Prophet,"⁶ and then proceeds to name them without any *Isnād*. They are according to him:— 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, Sa'd b. 'Ubaid, Abud-Dardā, Mu'ādh b. Jabal, Abu Zaid, 'Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Ubaid b. Mu'āwiah. These names occur in the list of Ibn Sa'd and that of Bukhāri combined; but

¹ R. Dussaud, in *Journal des Savants*, 1913, p. 133.

² Cl. Huart, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, p. 215.

³ J.R.A.S., 1916, p. 397.

⁴ Lammens's *Le berceau de l'Islam*, p. 130.

⁵ *Geschichte des Qorāns*, p. 189, sq.

⁶ p. 27 (edit. Flügel).

the *Fihrist* adds two new factors: 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, and 'Ubaid b. Mu'āwiah.

The historian Tabari has another account:¹ " 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān wrote the *Revelation* to the Prophet; but in their absence it was Ubayy b. Ka'b and Zaid b. Thābit who wrote it." He informs us, too, that people said to 'Uthmān: "The Kur'ān was in many books, and thou discreditedst them all but one;"² and after the Prophet's death, "People gave him as successor Abu Bakr, who in his turn was succeeded by 'Umar; and both of them acted according to the Book and the Sunnah of the Apostle of God—and praise be to God the Lord of the worlds; then people elected 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who . . . tore up the Book."³

A more ancient historian, Wākidi,⁴ has the following sentence in which it is suggested that 'Abdallah b. Sa'd, b. Abi Sarh, and a Christian slave, ibn Qumta, had something to do with the Kur'ān." And ibn Abi Sarh came back and said to Kuraish: "It was only a Christian slave who was teaching him (Muḥammad); I used to write to him and change whatever I wanted." And the pseudo-Wākidi (printed by Nassau Lees⁵) brings forward a certain Sharahbīl b. Ḥasanah as the amanuensis of the Prophet.

A second series of traditions attributes a kind of collection (Jam') of the Kur'ān to the Umayyad Caliph 'Abdul-Malik b. Marwān (A.D. 684-704) and to his famous lieutenant Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Barhebræus⁶ has preserved the interesting and important tradition: "'Abdul-Malik b. Marwān used to say, 'I fear death in the month of Ramadān—in it I was born, in it I was weaned, in it I have collected the Kur'ān (Jama'tul-Kur-āna), and in it I was elected Caliph.'" This is also reported by Jalālud-Dīn as Suyūṭi,⁷ as derived from Tha'ālībī.

¹ 2, 2, 836.

² Ibid. I, 6, 2952.

³ Ibid. II, 1, 516.

⁴ *History of Muḥammad's Campaigns*, 1856, p. 68 (edit. Kremer).

⁵ Vol. I, p. 14.

⁶ *Chron. Arab*, p. 194 (edit. Beirut).

⁷ p. 227 (edit. Jarrett).

Ibn Dukmāk in his *Description of Egypt*,¹ and Makrīzī in his *Khitāt*,² say about the Kur'ān of Asmā: "The reason why this Kur'ān was written is that Hajjāj b. Yūsuf Thakafī wrote Kur'āns and sent them to the head-provinces. One of them was sent to Egypt. 'Abdul-'Azīz b. Marwān, who was then governor of Egypt in the name of his brother 'Abdul-Malik, was irritated and said: "How could he send a Kur'ān to a district of which I am the chief?" Ibnul-Athīr³ relates that al-Hajjāj proscribed the Kur'ān according to the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd. Ibn Khallikān⁴ reports that owing to some orthographical difficulties such various readings had crept into the recitation of the Kur'ān in the time of al-Hajjāj that he was obliged to ask some writers to put an end to them, but without success, because the only way to recite rightly the Kur'ān was to learn it orally from teachers, each word in its right place.

At the end of this first part of our inquiry, it is well to state that not a single trace of the work of the above collectors has come down to posterity, except in the case of Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Ibn Mas'ūd. The *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī and in a lesser degree the *Anwārut-Tanzīl* of Baidāwī record many Kur'ānic variants derived from the scraps of the Kur'ān edited by the above named companions of the Prophet. The fact is known to all Arabists and does not need explanation.⁵ We need only translate a typical passage from the newly published *Dictionary of learned men* of Yākūt:⁶

"Ismā'il b. 'Alī al-Khatbī has recorded in the "Book of History" and said: "The story of a man called b. Shanbūdh became famous in Baghdad; he used to read and to teach the reading (of the Kur'ān) with letters in which he contradicted the *mishaf*; he read according to 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and Ubayy

¹ Pt. I, 72-74.

² II, 454 (noticed by Casanova, p. 124).

³ IV, 463 (noticed by Périer, *vie d'al-Hadjdjādj*, p. 257.)

⁴ Vol. I, p. 183 (edit. Baron de Slane).

⁵ Cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 26-27.

⁶ VI, pp. 301-302 (edit. D. S. Margoliouth).

b. Ka'b and others; and used the readings employed before the *mishaf* was collected by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and followed anomalies; he read and proved them in discussions, until his affair became important and ominous; people did not tolerate him any more, and the Sultan sent emissaries to seize him, in the year 323; he was brought to the house of the vizier Muhammad b. Muklah who summoned judges, lawyers, and Readers of the Kur'ān. The vizier charged him in his presence with what he had done, and he did not desist from it, but corroborated it; the vizier then tried to make him discredit it, and cease to read with these disgraceful anomalies, which were an addition to the *mishaf* of 'Uthmān, but he refused. Those who were present disapproved of this and hinted that he should be punished in such a way as to compel him to desist. (The vizier) then ordered that he should be stripped of his clothes and struck with a staff on his back. He received about ten hard strokes, and could not endure any more; he cried out for mercy, and agreed to yield and repent. He was then released and given his clothes . . . and Sheikh Abu Muhammad Yūsuf b. Sairāfi told me that he (b. Shanbūdh) had recorded many readings."

A study of Shi'ah books reveals also some variants derived from the recension of 'Ali's disciples. They will be discussed in a subsequent article.

II.

TRANSMISSION OF THE KUR'ĀN ACCORDING TO CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

IN considering the question of the transmission of the Kur'ān according to Christian writers, the reader will feel that he is more in the domain of historical facts than in that of the precarious Hadith; unfortunately, any information found in books written at the very beginning of Islām, is naturally scanty. In face of the conflagration which, in a few years shook the political foundations of the near East, Christian writers were more anxious to save

their skin from the onslaughts of the *Ishmaelites* and *Hagarians*—as they used to call the early Arabs—than to study the kind of religion they professed. Syriac books, however, contain important data which throw great light upon our subject, and overshadow by their antiquity the tardy Muslim Hadīth of the ninth century.

The first account is, in order of date, the colloquy or the discussion which took place in Syria between 'Amr b. al-'Ās and the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, John I, in the eighteenth year of the Hijra (Sunday, 9 May, 639 A.D.). It has been published from a MS in the British Museum dated 874 A.D. by F. Nau, in the *Journal Asiatique*.¹ The Patriarch was summoned before 'Amr along with five bishops and a great number of notable Christians, and some days after the discussion, the Patriarch and the bishops wrote a careful report of what had happened, and sent it to the Christians of Mesopotamia, asking them to "pray for the illustrious Amīr, that God might grant him wisdom and enlighten him in what is the will of the Lord." The questions that 'Amr asked and the introductory words of the colloquy are as follows:—

. . . We inform your love that on the ninth of this month of May, on the holy Sunday, we went in before the glorious General Amīr. The blessed Father of all was asked by the Amīr whether the Gospel which is in the hands of all who are called Christians in all the world, was one and without any difference whatever. The blessed Patriarch answered . . . Then the Amīr asked why if the Gospel was one, faith was different; and the Patriarch answered . . .

The Amīr then asked, "What do you think of the Christ? Is He God or not? Our Father then answered . . ." And the glorious Amīr asked him this question, "When the Christ, whom you call God, was in the womb of Mary, who was holding and governing heaven and earth?" Our blessed Father answered . . . And the glorious Amīr said, "What were the views and

¹ Mars-Avril, 1915, p. 248 sq.

the belief of Abraham and Moses?" Our blessed Father answered . . . And the Amīr said, "Why did they not write clearly and show their belief about the Christ?" and our blessed Father answered . . . When the Amīr heard these things, he only asked whether the Christ born of Mary was God, and whether God had a son, and whether this could be proved from the Torah and by reason. And our blessed Father said, "Not only Moses, but all the holy prophets have previously related these points of the Christ . . ." And the glorious Amīr said that he would not accept the proof of these points by quotations from the prophets; but only required that it should be proved to him by quotations from Moses that the Christ was God. And the blessed Father among other quotations, brought forth the following from Moses, "Then the Lord from before the Lord brought down fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah;"¹ and the glorious Amīr required that this quotation should be shown to him in the Book. And our Father showed it to him without delay,² in the complete Greek and Syriac Books. In that assembly, some Hagarians (Muslims) were present with us, and they saw the text³ with their own eyes, and the existence of the glorious name of the Lord twice. And the Amīr called a certain Jew, who was believed by the Jews to be a Knower of Books, and asked him if this was literally true in the Torah; and the Jew answered "I do not know with certainty."

Then the Amīr digressed from this point and asked about the laws of the Christians, how and what they were, and if they were written in the Gospel; and asked, too, if a man dies and leaves sons or daughters, with a wife, a mother, a sister and a cousin, how would his heritage be divided between them? . . . A long discussion ensued; and not only the best-known men among the Hagarians (Muslims) were present there, but also the heads and the rulers of the town, and of the faithful and Christ-loving tribes: Tannūkhians, Tu'ians, and 'Aḳulians.⁴

¹ Genesis xix, 24.

² Nau translates the Syriac expression *dla tūhhāya* by "sans erreur possible," instead of "easily, without delay."

³ Lit. "the writings."

⁴ Christian Arab tribes of Southern Syria.

And the glorious Amīr said, "I want you to do one of these three things: either to show me that your laws are written in the Gospel, and that you are following them, or to follow the laws of the Hagarians (Muslims)." And our Father answered, "Our laws, the laws of us Christians, are just, equitable, and in harmony with the teaching and the Commandment of the Gospel, the prescriptions of the Apostles and the laws of the Church." It is with this that the first gathering of that day ended, and up to now we have not been again before the Amīr."

From this important document written in the fifth year of 'Umar's Caliphate and possibly¹ some months after the terrible *year of ashes*, and of plague,² we can safely infer (1) that no Bible was translated into Arabic at that early period;³ (2) that the teaching of the Kur'ān on the matter of heritages, the denial of the divinity and the death of Christ and on the subject of the Torah, which is given a marked predilection in Muhammad's oracles, was familiar to the muslims present in the discussion; (3) that no Islāmic Book was mentioned when the colloquy took place; (4) that some of the early Arab conquerors knew how to read and to write.⁴

About A.D. 647, in the first years of 'Uthmān's Caliphate, the famous Patriarch of Seleucia, Isho'yahb III, said in one of his letters which he wrote when still bishop of Nineveh, "In excusing yourselves falsely, you might perhaps say, or the Heretics might make you say, 'What has happened was due to the order given by the Arabs' (Tayyāyé); but this would not be true at all, because the Arab Hagarians (Muslims) do not help those who attribute sufferings and death to God, the Lord of everything."⁵ From what we know of Isho'yahb, he would have

¹ It is very difficult to determine with exactitude the chronology of events at this period of Arab conquests.

² Cf. W. Muir, *The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 1915, p. 153 sq.

³ Cf. in *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, p. 51, the Arabic text edited by B. Evetts.

⁴ These, however, might have been Jewish or Christian renegades.

⁵ Edit. Duval *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient*, tomus LXIV., p. 97.

surely mentioned or quoted the Islāmic Book, had he known it, or even heard of it (*c.f.*, Ibid p. 251).

The anonymous writer printed by Guidi¹ knows nothing about a sacred Book of Islām in A.D. 680, at the time of the Umayyad Caliphate of Yazīd, son of Mu'āwiah. He believed the Arabs to be simply the descendents of Ishmael, who professed the old Abrahamic faith, and gives Muhammad as a mere general, without any religious character. "Then God raised against (the Persians) the sons of Ishmael like the sand of the sea-shores, with their leader Muhammad . . . As to the Ka'bah we cannot know what it was, except in supposing that the blessed Abraham having become very rich in possessions, and wanting to avoid the envy of the Canaanites, chose to dwell in the distant and large localities of the desert; and as he was living under tents, built that place for the worship of God and the offering of sacrifices; for this reason, this place received its title of our days, and the memory of the place was transmitted from generation to generation with the evolution of the Arab race. It was not, therefore, new for the Arabs to worship in that place, but their worship therein was from the beginning of their days; in this, they were rendering honour to the father of the head of their race . . . and Madīnah was called after Madian, the fourth son of Abraham from Keturah; the town is also called Yathrib."

John Bar Penkāyé² has some interesting records in his Chronicle about the early Arab conquests and the famous *Shurāt* of whose exploits he was an eye-witness, but he does not know that these Arabs had any sacred Book in A.D. 690, when he was writing, under the Caliphate of 'Abdul-Mālik. "The Arabs, as I have said above, had a certain order from the one who was their leader, in favour of the Christian people and the monks; they held also, under his leadership, the worship of one God, according to the customs of the Old Covenant; at the outset they were so attached to the tradition of Muhammad who was their teacher, that they inflicted the pain of death upon any one who

¹ *Chronica Minora*, Ibid. tomus IV, pp. 30 and 38.

² A. Mingana, *Sources Syriacques*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 146 *sqq.*

seemed to contradict his tradition¹ . . . Among them there were many Christians, some from the Heretics,² and some from us."³

From these quotations and from many passages of some contemporary writers, it is evident that the Christian historians of the whole of the seventh century had no idea that the "Hagarian" conquerors had any sacred Book; similar is the case among historians and theologians of the beginning of the eighth century. It is only towards the end of the first quarter of this century that the Kur'ān became the theme of conversation in Nestorian, Jacobite, and Melchite ecclesiastical circles. The Christians, in spite of the intolerant attitude of Muslim Caliphs and governors, continued to write, frequently under pain of death, many polemical lucubrations in refutation of the sacred Book of Islām, which met with a swarm of answers from the Muslim side. For the end of the century the reader will find good information in Steinschneider's well-known work.⁴ Some years before this date two important publications, not yet edited, saw the light, viz., the Refutation of the Kur'ān by Abū Nōh, secretary to the Governor of Mosul,⁵ and the apology of Christianity by Timothy, Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia, recently made known by Braun in *Oriens Christianus*.⁶

So far as the transmission of the Kur'ān is concerned, by far the most important work is the apology of al-Kindi, critically studied in 1887 by W. Muir.⁷

Casanova writes: "Il faut, je crois, dans l'histoire critique du Coran, faire une place de premier ordre au Chrétien Kindite."⁸ According to this Kindite, who wrote some forty years before

¹ Notice the Syriac word *Mashilmānūtha* "tradition" in its rapport with "a written thing."

² i.e., Monophysites.

³ i.e., Nestorians.

⁴ *Pol. und Apol. Littertur in Arab. Sprache*, 1877.

⁵ Assemani, B. O. III, 1, 212.

⁶ 1901, p. 150.

⁷ *The Apology of al-Kindi written at the court of al-Māmūn circa, A.D. 830*. An excellent edition of this work has recently appeared in Egypt in the "Nile Mission Press," whose chairman is Dr. S. M. Zwemer.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 119.

Bukhāri, the history of the Kur'ān is, briefly, as follows:¹ "Sergius,² a Nestorian monk, was excommunicated for a certain offence; to expiate it he set out on a mission to Arabia; in Maccah he met Muhammad with whom he had intimate converse. At the death of the monk, two Jewish doctors, 'Abdallah and Ka'b, ingratiated themselves with Muhammad and had great influence over him. Upon the Prophet's death, and at the instigation of the Jews, 'Ali refused to swear allegiance to Abu Bakr, but when he despaired of succeeding to the Caliphate, he presented himself before him, forty days (some say six months) after the Prophet's death. As he was swearing allegiance to him, he was asked, 'O Father of Hasan, what hath delayed thee so long?' He answered, 'I was busy collecting the Book of the Lord, for that the Prophet committed to my care.' The men present about Abu Bakr represented that there were scraps and pieces of the Kur'ān with them as well as with 'Ali; and then it was agreed to collect the whole from every quarter together. So they collected various parts from the memory of individuals (as Sūratul-Barā'ah, which they wrote out at the dictation of a certain Arab from the desert), and other portions from different people; besides that which was copied out from tablets of stone, and palm-leaves, and shoulder-bones, and such like. It was not at first collected in a volume, but remained in separate leaves. Then the people fell to variance in their reading; some read according to the version of 'Ali, which they follow to the present day; some read according to the collection of which we have made mention; one party read according to the text of ibn Mas'ūd, and another according to that of Ubayy ibn Ka'b.

"When 'Uthmān came to power, and people everywhere differed in their reading, 'Ali sought grounds of accusation against him, compassing his death. One man would read a verse one

¹ Cf. Muir, *Ibid.* p. 70 sq.

² The predominant role of this monk will be carefully set forth in our future studies. The Arab authors who scarcely knew any other language besides the Arabic, confused his name with the title *Bhira* given by Aramæans to every monk; see Nau, *Expansion Nestorienne en Asie*, 1914, pp. 213-223, who showed how misleading was the practice of some scholars who simply availed themselves of the tardy Muslim Hadīth.

way, and another man another way; and there was change and interpolation, some copies having more and some less. When this was represented to 'Uthmān, and the danger urged of division, strife, and apostacy, he thereupon caused to be collected together all the leaves and scraps that he could, together with the copy that was written out at the first. But they did not interfere with that which was in the hands of 'Ali, or of those who followed his reading. Ubayy was dead by this time; as for ibn Mas'ūd, they demanded his exemplar, but he refused to give it up. Then they commanded Zaid ibn Thābit, and with him 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās, to revise and correct the text, eliminating all that was corrupt; they were instructed, when they differed on any reading, word, or name, to follow the dialect of the Kuraish.

“When the recension was completed, four exemplars were written out in large text; one was sent to Maccah, and another to Madīnah; the third was despatched to Syria, and is to this day at Malatya; the fourth was deposited in Kūfah. People say that this last copy is still extant at Kūfah, but this is not the case, for it was lost in the insurrection of Mukhtār (A.H. 67). The copy at Maccah remained there till the city was stormed by Abu Sarāyah (A.H. 200); he did not carry it away; but it is supposed to have been burned in the conflagration. The Madīnah exemplar was lost in the reign of terror, that is, in the days of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiah (A.H. 60-64).

“After what we have related above, 'Uthmān called in all the former leaves and copies, and destroyed them, threatening those who held any portion back; and so only some scattered remains, concealed here and there, survived. Ibn Mas'ūd, however, retained his exemplar in his own hands, and it was inherited by his posterity, as it is this day; and likewise the collection of 'Ali has descended in his family.¹

“Then followed the business of Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, who gathered together every single copy he could lay hold of, and caused to be omitted from the text a great many passages. Among these, they say, were verses revealed concerning the House of Umayyah

¹ These details will be studied in future.

with names of certain persons, and concerning the House of 'Abbās also with names.¹ Six copies of the text thus revised were distributed to Egypt, Syria, Madinah, Maccah, Kūfah, and Basrah.² After that he called in and destroyed all the preceding copies, even as 'Uthmān had done before him. The enmity subsisting between 'Alī and Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān is well known; now each of these entered in the text whatever favoured his own claims, and left out what was otherwise. How, then, can we distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit? And what about the losses caused by Hajjāj? The kind of faith that this tyrant held in other matters is well-known; how can we make an arbiter as to the Book of God a man who never ceased to play into the hands of the Umayyads whenever he found opportunity?"

Then al-Kindi, addressing his Muslim friend, says: "All that I have said is drawn from your own authorities, and no single argument has been advanced but what is based on evidence accepted by yourselves; in proof thereof, we have the Kur'ān itself, which is a confused heap, with neither system nor order."

It should be noticed here that something which might be termed an answer to al-Kindi from the Muslim side has been discovered among the Arabic manuscripts of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In a MS., dated 616 of the Hijrah, I found the *Kitābud-Dinī wad-Daulah*, "Book of Religion and Empire," written in A.D. 855, by the physician 'Alī b. Rabban-at-Tabarī, at the request of the Caliph Mutawakkil. It is an official Apology of Islām, appearing at an interval of some twenty years after the Apology of Christianity by al-Kindi. On the important point of the transmission of the Kur'ān, the author is content to appeal to the piety, asceticism, and devotion of the early Caliphs and disciples of the Prophet, and says, "If such people may be accused of forgery and falsehood, the disciples of the Christ might also be accused of the same." This is a meagre answer to the historical indictments of al-Kindi.

¹ Cf. *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1909, p. 255 (edit. Schwally).

² This fact receives a direct confirmation from ibn Dukmāk and Makrīzī quoted on p. 33.

We trust that the Arabists will rightly value the outstanding importance of this new work, written before all the traditional compilations of the second half of the ninth century. So far as the religious system of Islām is concerned, it is of an unparalleled significance, containing, as it does, many traditions dealing with the Prophet, his religion and his disciples, which are not found elsewhere. I have prepared the text for the press and translated it with some critical annotations required by its antiquity and its extrinsic and intrinsic importance¹ After a long introduction in which the author praises Islām, gives good advice to be followed in discussions, and shows the laudable zeal of the Caliph Mutawakkil in the propagation and vindication of his faith, he sets forth the reasons why people of the tolerated cults do not embrace Islām and why they should embrace it, and because the greater number of the non-Muslim population were Christian, he addresses the Christians more frequently; in the second rank come Jews, Magians, Hindoos, and Dualists, who, however, are attacked more sharply. The order of the chapters is as follows:

(a) Different forms of historical facts and common agreement. (b) Criteria for the verification of historical facts. (c) The Prophet called to the unity of God and to what all the prophets have believed. (d) Merits of the ways of acting and the prescriptions of the Prophet. (e) Miracles of the Prophet which the "People of the Book" have rejected. (f) The Prophet foretold events hidden from him, which were realised in his lifetime. (g) Prophecies of the Prophet, which were realised after his death. (h) The Prophet was an unlettered man, and the Book which God revealed to him is, therefore, a sign of prophetic office. (i) The victory won by the Prophet is a sign of prophetic office. (j) The disciples of the Prophet and the eye-witnesses of his career were most honest and pious: (1) asceticism of the Bakr; (2) asceticism of 'Umar; (3) asceticism of 'Ali; (4) asceticism of 'Umar b. 'Abdul-Azīz, of 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Khattāb, and of some other pious Muslims. (k) If the Prophet had not appeared the prophecies of the prophets about him and about Ishmael

¹ The work will be published for the Governors of the John Rylands Library by the Manchester University Press.

would have been without object. (*l*) Prophecies of the prophets about him: Moses, David, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Christ and His disciples. (*m*) Answer to those who have blamed the prescriptions of Islām. (*n*) Answer to those who are shocked that the Prophet should have innovated and changed some prescriptions of the Torah and the Gospel. (*o*) Answer to those who pretend that no one but the Christ has mentioned the Resurrection. (*p*) Conclusion.

In his biblical quotations, the author refers to the version of a certain "Marcus the Interpreter," of which we are still unable to find any trace in any other book, either Syriac or Arabic.

Apart from the question of an official edition of the Kur'ān being unknown to Christian writers till the second half of the eighth century, the idea gathered from the ancient Christian compositions is in complete agreement with "the theory that Islām is primarily a political adventure;"¹ and as in the Semitic mind political adventures cannot succeed without some "persuasions" to heaven, and "dissuasions" from hell, it is the merit of the first Caliphs to have so skilfully handled, after their master and in imitation of "the people of the Book," the spiritual instrument which was easy and handy and which brought them such wonderful results. (Ist der Islām) "Keineswegs als ein Religionssystem ins Leben getreten, sondern als ein Versuch sozialistischer Art, gewissen überhandnehmenden irdischen Missständen entgegenzutreten."²

CONCLUSION.

FROM all the above facts and documents, any impartial critic, interested in the Kur'ānic literature of the Muslim world, can draw his own conclusions. If we may express our opinion, we would be tempted to say:—

(1) If all signs do not mislead us, very few oracular sentences, if any, were written in the time of the Prophet. The kind of life

¹ D. S. Margoliouth, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 879.

² H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, I., Münster, p. 14; München, p. 50.

that he led, and the rudimentary character of reading and writing in that part of the world in which he appeared, are sufficient witnesses in favour of this view. Our ignorance of the Arabic language in that early period of its evolution is such that we cannot even know with certainty whether it had any writing of its own in Maccah and Madinah. If a kind of writing existed in these two localities, it must have been something very similar to the Estrangelo or the Hebraic characters. Ibn Khaldūn¹ informs us that the people of Tāif and Kuraish learnt the "*art of writing*" from the Christians of the town of Hirah, and the first Kuraishite who learned it was Sufyān b. Umayyah.² Further, Hirschfeld³ has already noted that "The Qoran, the text-book of Islām is in reality nothing but a counterfeit of the Bible;" this verdict applies in a more accentuated manner to the compilation of the Kur'ān. No disciple of Moses or of Christ wrote the respective oracles of these two religious leaders in their lifetime, and probably no such disciple did so in the case of the Prophet. A man did not become an acknowledged prophet in a short time; years elapsed before his teaching was considered worth preserving on parchment. Lammens⁴ has observed, "Le Prophète s'était fait intimer par Allah (Qoran, lxxv. 16-17) l'ordre de ne pas se presser pour éditer le Qoran, comme recueil séparé. La précaution était prudente, étant donné le caractère inconsistant de certaines révélations."

(2) Some years after the Prophet's death many of his companions, seeing that his cause was really flourishing and gathering considerable momentum by means of able generals, vied in writing down, each one in his own sphere, the oracles of their master. This work gave them prestige, and sometimes high posts which they could scarcely have obtained otherwise; in this series is to be included the compilation of Ubayy b. Ka'b, Ibn Mas'ūd,

¹ *Mukaddimah*, p. 365 (edit. Beirut).

² We cannot enter into details on this subject which is a digression from the Kur'ānic theme.

³ *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, p. 11.

⁴ *Fātima et les filles de Mahomet*, p. 113.

'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and probably 'Ali b. Abi Talib. When 'Uthmān obtained the Caliphate, his version was naturally given a royal sanction, to the detriment of the three other recensions. The story of the Kuraishite scribes who were told by 'Uthmān to write down the Revelation in the dialect of Kuraish, ought to be discarded as half legendary. We all know how ill adapted was the Arabic writing even of the eighth century to express all the phonetic niceties of the new philological schools; it is highly improbable, therefore, that it could express them in the first years of the Hijrah. Moreover, a very legitimate doubt can be entertained about the literary proficiency of all the collectors mentioned in the tardy hadith of the ninth century. Most of them were more tribal chieftains than men of literature, and probably very few of them could even read or write; for this reason the greater part of their work must have been accomplished by some skilled Christian or Jewish amanuensis, converted to Islām.

(3) This last work of Companions and Helpers does not seem to have been put into book form by 'Uthmān, but was written on rolls of parchment, on *suhufs*, and it remained in that state till the time of Abdul-Mālīk and Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf. At this time, being more familiar with writing by their intercourse with the Jews and Christians of the enlightened capital of Syria, and feeling more acutely the necessity of competing on even terms with them, the Caliph and his powerful lieutenant, gave to those rolls the character and the continuity of a book, and very possibly, added new material from some oral reciters of the Prophet's oracular sentences. At any rate, the incident of both Hajjāj and 'Uthmān writing copies of the Kur'ān and sending them to the head-provinces is very curious. We will conclude the first chapter of this enquiry with the following sentences by Professor Casanova¹ to which we fully adhere:

" Mais les fragments d'os, de palmier, etc., sur lesquels étaient écrits, de la main des secrétaires, les versets dictés par le Prophète, et qui avaient servi à la première recension, sous Aboû

¹ Ibid., pp. 141-142.

Bakr, que sont-ils devenus? Je me refuse à croire qu'ils auraient été détruits. Quel extraordinaire sacrilège! Comment aurait-on pu traiter ainsi ces témoins les plus directs de la révélation. Enfin s'ils avaient existé, comment expliquer la crainte que 'Oumar et Aboû Bakr témoignèrent de voir le Coran disparaître par la mort des récitateurs? S'ils n'avaient pas existé, tous les passages si nombreux où le Coran est désigné (par le mot *Kitāb*) auraient été introduits après coup! Voilà bien des contradictions inhérentes au récit traditionnel, et toutes se résolvent par la conclusion que j'adopte: Le Coran a été mis, par écrit, pour la première fois par les soins d'al Hajjāj qui probablement s'appuyait sur la légende d'un prototype dû à 'Outhmān. Il est possible qu'il y ait eu des transcriptions antérieures, mais sans caractère officiel, et par conséquent sans unité."

THE ORIGIN OF CHINESE WRITING

By E. H. PARKER, M.A.

IN the course of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th March, 1915, my colleague, Dr. G. Elliot Smith, Professor of Anatomy, touched upon China's susceptibility in the hoary past to "the influence of ancient Egyptian civilisation in the Far East and in America." The particular point upon which I gather from later remarks that he is desirous of obtaining an opinion from somebody who has made a special study of Chinese is when and how writing was first invented in China or introduced into that country. Upon this subject much has of course been written since the first Jesuits began the work three hundred years ago; and above all as the result of a more systematic application to the language by missionaries and foreign officials during the past hundred years. What I have myself ventured to write from time to time about the antiquity of *definite* Chinese history has been of a nature even more sceptical than the view adopted by Dr. Elliot Smith; but, as he includes America in the regions probably affected (by way of China) by the flood of culture carried eastward by the Phœnicians, I may perhaps first be allowed to digress for a moment in order to point out that the Chinese themselves have "persistent traditions" of a mysterious country very far away to the east, and there have not been lacking sanguine foreign translators to "prove" similarities in language and customs between the Red Indian tribes and the different Chinese groups. In order to satisfy myself as far as possible upon this point, I visited the museums of British Columbia and Mexico during the summer and autumn of 1894, and I must confess that I saw much that was "suggestive," alike from an ethnological, a linguistical, and a literary

point of view. For instance, I closely examined the inscriptions on the great stone of the cathedral, visited Chapultepec and the Aztec inscriptions, Ixtepalapan and the Coronai Museum, and even hunted up two local *savants* named Dr. Alfredo Clavero and Dr. Antonio Peñafiel who were reputed to possess certain keys. Some of the hieroglyphical systems I examined were yet undeciphered, and strongly resemble the specimens published in the reprint of Dr. Elliot Smith's lecture; but those of Yucatan and Tlaxcala might easily have been—at a distance—mistaken for Chinese inscriptions. Certainly there appears to me to be more *prima facie* ground for connecting these with Chinese *as now written* than for connecting the Akkadian and Sumerian hieroglyphs with ancient as well as modern Chinese forms as the learned Dr. C. J. Ball has within the past twenty years so laboriously attempted to do, not to speak of the effort to assimilate spoken words as well as written signs. But from first to last I never succeeded in obtaining any tangible evidence in any one of the three departments—ethnological, linguistical, or literary.

To return now from this digression to the main question of ancient Chinese writing. Within the past few years a mass of entirely new evidence has been discovered in the shape of numerous bone inscriptions, unearthed chiefly in the true "Central Kingdom" of Old China. The whole question has been carefully gone into by Mr. L. C. Hopkins, I.S.O., in a series of papers contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* from the year 1911 onwards. The meaning of these bone inscriptions is as uncertain as their date; but, whether connected with divination, dynastic successions, or family records, it seems clear that they exhibit little or nothing in the direction of sustained thought or connected history. Mr. Hopkins, who is an old consular colleague of mine and one of the very few who have made a speciality of the study of ancient Chinese script, declared also, in a lecture delivered a few years ago before the China Society, that "perhaps no recorded or existing Chinese inscription can be assigned a date earlier than 1500 B.C." However that may be, this most ancient period of about a hundred pictographic

signs gradually reinforced by perhaps four hundred more ideographic characters endured without much local variation down to the year 827 B.C. or thereabout. When I say "local," I mean within the then very limited inland state confined to the valley of the Lower Yellow River. It is pretty well agreed by all who have made a serious study of Chinese records that true connected history with definite dates for definite events is entirely unconcerned with maritime experiences, and only begins with the revolution, republic, and reconstitution of the comparatively small inland empire in 841-828 B.C., up to which date its only foreign, political, and trade experiences were with the menacing Tartar nomads. That public opinion did then really assert itself for the first time seems evident from the fact that the interregnum period (841-828) was characterised as *Kung-ho* or "together harmonising," a term freely used within the past five years to denote "the republic," "republican principles," or, in a more restricted sense, one of the rival parties clamouring for power in order that the *min-kwoh* or "popular state"—ultimately the officially adopted name for "republic"—might be guided by a particular shade of democratic ideas grounded on ancient precedent. The term *chung-hing*, or "intermediate flourishing," was applied to the restoration period beginning 827 B.C., and this term has ever since been officially applied to "restorations," in our own English historical sense, whenever dynastic "continuity" has been broken: its latest (perhaps irregular) use was after the flight of the Emperor to Jêhol in 1861, when a regency of Empress-Dowager, protecting a weak successor, found itself threatened by the T'ai-p'ing rebellion. During the reign of the first Emperor of this earliest restoration of 821 B.C., a historiographer named Chou or rather Djou—not the same etymological initial or word as the then ruling dynasty of Chou—introduced a new phonetic system of writing, a great improvement upon the old hieroglyphs and pictographs, reinforced by ideographs, which only *suggested* sounds and ideas. His "book" or vocabulary, consisting of fifteen bamboo or wooden "chapters," cannot have exceeded about one thousand characters in all, and this estimate is made from the number used in the actual or recorded documents that

have come down to us written in that character, many specimens of which still survive in the shape of vases, drinking-vessels, sacrificial tripods, and commemorative bowls, one especially fine instance of the last-named being at this moment visible to the public in the Victoria and Albert Museum together with translation, history, and arguments.

It is now that real history, accompanied by effective if limited writing, really begins, and with it the period of material progress and local autonomy. It must be remembered that this "Old China" still only meant the northern half of what we now call "China proper;" its present provinces were then six or seven "powers" or practically independent states under the purely nominal control of the resuscitated emperors; a few minor and less independent states clustered and intrigued around them. Writing was a laborious and clumsy art even in its improved phonetic form, and "books" were rare and heavy objects made up of strips strung together at one end like (and probably the indirect origin of) bamboo fans; ordinary business was conducted by slips each containing a dozen or so of characters, the form of which was apt to differ slightly in each state. Confucius' celebrated Annals (c. 480 B.C.) the first real definite history ever attempted in China was a laconic record of events in his own state so far as they led him to observations on and relations with other states, including the imperial state or limited area under direct imperial rule. There is reason to believe that all the other states kept similar annals, and portions of the same, in fact, have been dug up from graves at various comparatively modern times. Confucius and his rival Laocius of the Imperial Court probably did not make use of 2,500 separate characters between them. Confucius' history, which covers a retrospective period of about 250 years, is scarcely literature, though the three largely amplified commentaries upon it (published several centuries later) which are usually meant when people speak of Confucius' celebrated Annals, are decidedly interesting and readable. I have read the whole three carefully each twice over, carefully annotating them: the definiteness and

comparative precision of matter and composition fairly entitle them to the term "literary style."

There can be no doubt that during the period 820-220 B.C. the total number of written characters had increased from 1,000 to over 3,000, for 3,300 were collected in a book. Education was widely spread; that is, the limited ruling classes broadened their base, cultivated literary treasures, consulted the oracles, and saw to it that the mercantile, industrial, and agricultural commons possessed at least a knowledge of written character sufficient for the ordinary business purposes of life, including the learning off by heart of moral maxims and principles of decency. If no household specimens have come down to us as (only in very recent years) with the Egyptian *papyri* and Babylonian clay, it is largely because wood and bamboo are so perishable by fire and rot.

After the uniting of the contending feudatories and imperial appanage into one centralised state in B.C. 213, the conqueror and his ministers naturally inclined to favour the use of their own variety of script when it became a question of deciding which form of writing each word should be adopted as the standard. Weights and measures, cart-wheel axles, and political ideas were all thenceforward to be organised and standardised. It is highly probable that (as with the Egyptian demotic writing) scribes, whose daily business led them to deal with numerous oracular, administrative, or mercantile matters, had long quietly and empirically indulged in a kind of short-hand among themselves and their colleagues of other states, which process would lead naturally to a general simplification of the more formal mode of writing in the elaboration of which, we are told, two of the conqueror's ministers and a private scholar took independent parts. Shortly after that an anonymous "village teacher" unified these three in a book of 3,300, as just stated. In his eagerness to begin universal *Kultur* afresh, this imperial founder of a Chinese *Weltmacht* proceeded to call in and destroy not only as much of the ancient literature as he could lay his hands on, but also the philosophers, scholars, and politicians who opposed his innovations on the

ground that the sages of antiquity had taught wiser and better things. Thus it comes about that even those portions of genuine old classical writings rummaged for and patched up from memory a generation or more after the tyrant's death and after the total collapse of his short-lived dynasty are open to suspicion as to their genuineness and accuracy, as few persons could even decipher, let alone explain, the old texts, whilst ninety-nine hundredths of the so-called original literature covered by the thousand or so of Djou's phonetic characters had disappeared for ever.

The Han dynasty in its western and eastern divisions practically covered a period of 400 years, *i.e.*, the first 200 years before and the second 200 years after the beginning of our Christian era. These 400 years were exceedingly active in a military as well as in a literary sense. The first dictionary (as distinct from mere vocabularies) was published about 220 A.D. and contained over 9,000 words. Not only was the written character further developed and made easier to write, but the hair ink-brush came into general use instead of the scratcher or style and the rough bamboo paint-brush; paper was invented; various special guide-books and vocabularies were made; distant military posts were established, and expresses conveyed despatches rapidly from one end of the empire to the other; the dominions of China were enlarged by discovery so as gradually to include under direct administration the whole of the coasts and nine-tenths of the present interior; and, in addition to all this, Chinese indirect influence was extended to Mongolia, Manchuria, Corea and Japan; Turkestan was subdued, and China was brought into political contact with the Indo-Scythian empire of the Afghanistan region, the Parthian empire to the west of it, and even with the Syrian portions of the Roman empire. Buddhism was first introduced by land, not by sea, and Indian priests gave Chinese translators of the *sûtra* their first notions of initials, rough syllabic spelling, and scientific arrangement of sounds; but at no period does the Chinese literary *taste* seem to have been in the remotest degree affected by foreign importations, even though Buddhistic *ideas* may have been assimilated;

nor have the Chinese writers ever given the smallest hint that the form of their script owed any thing in the way of inception, change, or improvement to examples or suggestions from abroad: in fact, they never even heard of any rival writing system or conceived the possible existence of any except their own until they were brought into political contact with the Indo-Scythians (whence India) and the Syrians (whence Rome).

When the modified forms of Djou's *ta-chuan*, or "greater engravings,"¹ were, in 200 B.C., simplified, as above explained, into the *siao-chuan*, or "lesser engravings," it was found as we have seen that the total number of characters up to then in use had increased to 3,300, and this, of course, covers the whole range of Chinese literature up to that date. Thus any supposed Babylonian effect say, in B.C. 600 (even if it existed at all) could only in any case be looked for in connection with the 400 to 1,000 ($\frac{1}{45}$ to $\frac{1}{106}$ of the number now existing), or even merely in connection with the one hundred primary characters ($\frac{1}{456}$ of the number now existing).

Professor Elliot Smith lays stress upon the provisional conclusion that "many of the fundamental conceptions of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and American civilisation were planted in their respective countries by the great cultural wave which set out from the African coast not long before the sixth century, B.C." So far as China is concerned, it must not be overlooked that however enterprising Phœnician (*i.e.*, Syrian) pioneers may have been, it could not possibly have been Chinese civilisation as above roughly outlined with which they came into contact, for the Chinese themselves only began to grope their way by sea along the more northerly coasts from the Yangtze mouths towards Canton and Tonquin after the destruction and reconstruction of the only literature recording evidences of that civilisation. The Japanese (as admitted by Baron Kikuchi) had no letters of any kind previous to the seventh century A.D. In Confucius'

¹ Foreign writers have usually adopted the term "great seal" and "lesser seal" because to this day official seals of office are generally engraved in one or the other form of ancient character quite indecipherable by the uneducated public.

time, South "China" and the coasts of "China" were as totally unknown to the only nation in the Far East possessing a written character capable of registering definite events as were Northern Europe and the Atlantic ports to the Romans of that same date, whose civilisation and development in most respects moved along lines parallel with those of the Chinese. In both cases the stimulus seems to have been chiefly improvement in the writing and recording art. True, South China was populated almost certainly by "tonic" and "monosyllabic" races akin to the Chinese, and no doubt some of these races (of whose doings there is no atom of record) were apt seamen and fishermen, possibly even trading with the Japan islands. Moreover, it is clearly shown by the Chinese records that when Chinese junks did begin to find their way to Indo-China and gradually beyond, they found dotted along the coasts all the way from Java, to Siam, Burma, etc., and to China, trading settlements of unmistakably Indian, and probably or at least possibly also Arab, Phœnician, Syrian, provenance. The way once found, progress was rapid, and by the Antonines' time we find the Chinese, who had already been introduced to the *sûtra* by land, also affected by Buddhism coming along the sea routes; we find also trade in full swing all over the Indian Ocean, and the very name of *Anton[ius]* recorded in Chinese history as the (probably unwitting) sender of a diplomatic or trade mission, apparently by way of modern Rangoon.

Our old friend the "unspeakable Turk" would probably be surprised to find himself hailed in the twentieth century as one of nature's chief civilisers in the past, but it seems none the less a fact from the absolutely clear statements of unimpeachable Chinese records that one and the same race, speaking dialects of one and the same basic language, has under the various names of Scythian, Hiung-nu, Hun, Kushan, Ephthalite, Turk, Ouigour and Mongol, always been the sole connecting link by land between the Eastern and Western civilisations. The early Chinese called them a "horse-back" nation, and said that to them "a country" meant "to be mounted." Through mythical times, semi-historical times, historical times, down to our own times, these same

horsemen under different tribal appellations derived from warlike heroes' names or from personal peculiarities, topical associations, and so on, have swept between the Volga and the Yaluh, their fighting numbers at no time exceeding half-a-million or so of cavaliers, generally broken up into rival "powers," but occasionally under one supreme chief; sometimes swooping upon China, at others upon Persia and the settled Persian offshoots of Turkestan; and again upon Greece, the Greek offshoots of Asia Minor, Bactria, etc., and the Roman Empire. These plundering armies needed no baggage or commissariat. They might or might not elect on any one expedition to take along their tents, carts, families, and flocks, or any part of them; but they were in no way bound by necessity to take anything but their arms, so long as grass and water were available for their horses, which provided them at a pinch with all the meat and *kumiss* (milk) they required.

It is not suggested that they ever carried in either direction any literature with them; but, making raids upon so many settled nations, and carrying off so many captives with their plunder, they must have carried many active ideas from Europe to Asia, and *vice versa*. No one had the faintest notion until thirty years ago that the ancient Turkish language and even parts of Turkish history could be entirely reconstructed from bilingual stone inscriptions still standing on Chinese territory, or that the Turks originally came from the borders of China, and that their name only dates from 500 A.D. and refers to a metal-working tribe of Hiung-nu, the last-named themselves—as also their kinsmen the Avars—connected with China, being in every way similar in manners to the Scythians of Greek authors and the Huns of Latin authors. For 1,000 years Turkish inscriptions have been gazed at by millions but have been noticed by none, forgotten even by the Turks. Indian literature, in Sanskrit, either pure or Tibetan, and Pali, was the only foreign script the Chinese ever seriously concerned themselves with. They knew of various "Tartar" scripts in Syria, Bactria, etc., but there seems to be no record or even tradition of their ever having critically examined them; nor is there the faintest shade of a tradition that the earliest Chinese

pictographs (denoting objects) and ideographs (denoting abstract ideas) had any connection with any Mesopotamian writing, whether pictorial, "ideal," phonetic, or alphabetic. The Chinese never even noticed with literary curiosity that the eighth century Turkish and Syrian inscriptions, lying alongside their own on the same stone, and even carved into the stone by Chinese artisans, really meant something capable of a civilised construction. As the Turkish alphabet of the eighth century is proveably derived from the Aramæan or other cognate Syrian, and as the Syrian land trade direct with China began, *as amply recorded*, before our era, we may safely assume that, long before that, there had been probably for untold centuries caravan trade in short stages between Syria and China, just as there had been tentative and increasing stages of Phœnician trade by sea first to the Red Sea, thence to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, long before the two extreme ends reached by the pioneers in each direction became aware of the continuity.

Thus the conclusion we arrive at is that Dr. Elliot Smith's theory is correct so far as it goes, but that land *and* water influences must be counted with, and that land takes precedence in antiquity over water, the Phœnicians being in fact practically the same persons as the Syrians, and very likely the earliest "pushers," in both cases exercising initial pressure from the West towards the East.

But as to the specific point of invention, is there any real necessity for persisting in or even assuming that writing was in remote and "prehistoric" times the exclusive invention of any one nation or tribe? Nay, further; the attempts to prove that the Chinese derived their primitive pictographs from the Akkadians or Sumerians of Babylonia seem to defeat themselves when we read in the British Museum guide-book that both these ruling peoples are "believed to have come from Central Asia, and to have belonged to the Turanian family of nations," *i.e.*, of necessity either to the Chinese, or Tibetans, or our equine friends the Hiung-nu and Scythians, to wit, the Turks. What scientific ground is there to assume that any nation or race is older than any other? Every existing man and woman must have had a

father and mother, and *they* also must have had parents; and so on *ad infinitum*, or at any rate until at least pleistocene and even pleiocene times. In any case it seems rash to assume connection or borrowings on the ground that the primitive sounds uttered, or scratched on a tree, show some similarity. There are only one pair of legs and one pair of arms to clothe whether we elect for petticoat, clout, or breeches; and there is and for, say, 250,000 years has been only one kind of throat and nose to speak out of whether, living remote from each other, we incline towards clicks, tones, grunts, sniffs, labials, sonants, nasals, surds, or gutturals. Not to speak of the Neanderthal man, the Heidelberg jaw, and the Ipswich skeleton, still more recent discoveries (and in point of time we must not overlook the fossil "fabulous" dragons found in China by a group of trippers accompanied by a genuine British consul this very year), the most recent human "finds" distinctly point to complete man, brain-power included, even in pleiocene times. History is nothing but events, and events disappear for ever unless they are recorded,¹ whether by means of knotted cords, still used in various parts of China and Tartary, —and, I might add, in many an English country beer-house, or, indeed, by every housewife who ties a reminding knot on her handkerchief, or by means of slashes in a tree, notches in bamboo, scratching on palm-leaves (as the Banyan bankers may be seen doing in Singapore to-day), painting on silk, writing on parchment, printing on paper, telegraphing on tape, or "wirelessing" round the world. It is only a matter of time and practice.

Primitive man probably made one of his greatest discoveries when he began to conceive definite numbers. As to the mere act of thinking, he must have been, for he still is, on the same plane as the "better-class people" amongst animals, for it is quite manifest that thinking cannot possibly connote speech of necessity, inasmuch as those persons born deaf and dumb can not only think, but "get along" in matters generally as well as

¹ One learned German author, writing in English, is struck by the resemblance of the English word "record" to the idea of knotted "cords," apparently forgetful of the fact that *re* means "back to" and *cors*, "mind," i.e., "bringing back to the recollection" objectively.

ordinary folk. His next step would probably be the development of speech, which is merely a "short-distance" record of our thoughts; figuratively a "scrap of paper" as conceived by *Kultur*. Primitive man, having at last grasped the idea that his own tree hole and his own wife were only one set of many similar, would be led to "record" this and other simple facts more permanently with his nails, with shells, or with sticks on a tree; if there were no trees he made a shift with any other handy material; for instance, clay; and advanced a step further when he found that the sun, later fire, made the clay durable. The Chinese have plenty of *loess*. Possibly because it is too friable to convert into viscous mud, they never seem to have imagined the virtues of clay "paper," though numerous very hard baked bricks and tiles, probably *not* made of *loess*, contain valuable ancient "inscriptions" of a terse and limited kind. It was their ill-luck to choose the most perishable of materials—wood, bamboos, silk, and paper—and (unless many more bone and tortoise-shell inscriptions and tomb treasures turn up) one of the consequences now is that we have few literary antiquities in China except in stone or bronze. But that circumstance is far from proving that the Chinese owed any culture to Mesopotamia, India, or elsewhere, or that their mental capacity needed foreign stimulus.

By the commencement of our era the Chinese had written two genuine "world" histories as they knew the world. Take, for instance, the chapters on the Hiung-nu in both these histories, about as long as the "Cæsar" and "Tacitus" used in our schools. The Chinese descriptions of the Hiung-nu are in general grasp marvellously like the Roman descriptions of the Gauls and Germans. The language and flow of thought is not only as precise and intelligent, but each sentence may be translated almost word for word into good Latin of similar terseness and grip. Although the first dictionary of 9,000 words published about 200 A.D. contains fewer than half the characters used by first-class schoolmen after the perfect and refined polish of 1,000 years later, and only one quarter or one fifth of the characters given in the imperial dictionaries of to-day, the clear and simple

style of B.C. 90 to A.D. 100 has never been excelled, and it is excellent reading even to-day, without greater need for a glossary than we ourselves require for, say, the Shakesperian plays. The Chinese have never shown any capacity for "applied history," but as recorders of bare facts and describers of definite events they are unequalled for trustworthiness. Have the Egyptians or the Babylonians ever written anything that one can sit down to read by the hour consecutively and conscientiously, and enjoy like a novel? The thousands of clay and papyrus documents indirectly describing conquests, family dealings, and so on are of course when pieced together intensely interesting to our curiosity. But are they literature? Is there any "style" or philosophic, logical thought about them? Above all, have they any "art" or beauty to the imagination as approached through the eye? If a nation can struggle during a total period of 500 years out of its bald annals scratched on laconic slips, create an argumentative philosophy worth destroying, repair that destruction, rise "like a phoenix from the ashes," and achieve the highest degree of artistic calligraphic and literary taste, charming to the eye, unfettered by "grammar," and *good for any spoken language*, what need is there to charge upon its mental capacity an imaginary debt to the Egyptians and Babylonians?

So far as evidence takes me personally, I think the "monosyllabic, tonic, and nasal" peoples, now assimilated more or less finally and completely into one whole by the superior tribe of the Yellow River, have probably been there for countless ages, and have worked out their own elementary script, no other nation within a thousand-mile radius of them having given them any evidence of rival records at all up to, say, 150 B.C. Roman literary development covers the same dates—say, 700 to 50 B.C.—and both in time and in quality the uncouth Twelve Tables bear much the same relation to "Cæsar" and "Tacitus" that the Annals of pre-Confucian times bear to the splendid histories of Sz-ma Ts'ien and Pan Ku just alluded to. As ideas advanced, East and West, the horse-riding nomads, ever scouring the vast prairies between the Danube and the Yuluh, would (quite unintentionally) bring rumours and hints, if nothing more solid: at

the same time the Phœnicians must have done likewise by sea; but later, less directly, and in shorter stages. In comparing the hundred or so of elementary characters, the later 400 ideographs, the 1,000 phonetics, the 3,300 simplified (each successive group of course including the earlier) with the Babylonian, such comparison must take into account and show clearly similar progressive dates of the Babylonian script, and also the probable sound given by the Chinese to the particular character 2,500 years ago. Of course we must also make as sure as possible of the Babylonian sound, the context, etc. In this connection it may well be useful to refer those interested to Mr. L. C. Hopkins' four papers (Dec. 1914, Jan., Feb., and March, 1915) contributed to the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, in which he bestows an unprejudiced criticism upon the Rev. C. J. Ball's *Chinese and Sumerian*. About twenty years ago I myself wrote one or two notices upon Dr. Ball's "Accadian Affinities of Chinese" in Vol. XXII. of the *China Review*, so the subject is not altogether new to me. But I am a sceptic, and in any case I consider Dr. Ball's *methods* unsound.

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OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

7

- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archæology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any way possible.
- (iii.) To issue, if possible, a Journal. If this is not possible, to print at least a Report, including abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Society.¹

SUBSCRIPTIONS

- (a) For ordinary members, 5s. per annum (student members, 2s. 6d.).
- (b) For Journal members, 10s. 6d., of which 5s. 6d. is assigned to the Special Publications Fund.

Subscriptions are due in January.

PUBLICATIONS

Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society for 1911,
published 1912 5s. od. net.

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society
for 1912, published 1913; for 1913, published 1914;
for 1914, published 1915; for 1915, published 1916;
for 1916, published 1917 5s. od. net.

The more important articles can be purchased separately.

Manchester Egyptian Association Report, 1909-1912 ... each os. 3d. net.

Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society Report, 1912-13,
1913-14, 1914-15 1s. 6d. net.

*List of Books on Egyptology published September, 1912, to
September, 1913, and Catalogue of Library of the
Society* os. 6d. net.

New Members can buy back numbers at half-price.

¹ There is a *Special Publications Fund*, for which subscriptions and donations are invited.

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ACCOUNTS FROM AUGUST 6TH, 1916, TO JULY 26TH, 1917.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
By Balance from last year	.	.	.	14 8 8	Advertising	.	.	.	2 2 9
" Subscriptions	.	.	.	12 16 6	Subs., British School of Archæology in Egypt	.	.	.	2 2 0
" Bank Interest	.	.	.	0 10 11	" Committee of Assoc. Educational Societies	.	.	.	0 5 0
					Lecturer's Travelling Expenses	.	.	.	2 2 0
					Petty Cash	.	.	.	0 10 6
					Bank Commission and Postages	.	.	.	0 1 9
					Circulars and Stationery	.	.	.	1 11 0
					Balance	.	.	.	19 1 1
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SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS FUND.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
By Balance from last year	.	.	.	13 6 1	University Publications Committee, towards cost	.	.	.	20 0 0
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" Donation, Mrs. Philip Fletcher	.	.	.	5 0 0	Balance in Bank	.	.	.	
" Society's Share of Proceeds of Sale of Journal, 1912-13	.	.	.	0 8 6					
" Messrs. Stevens & Brown for Book List, etc.	.	.	.	0 0 9					
				<u>£32 1 10</u>					<u>£32 1 10</u>

26th July, 1917.

Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.

REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY

1917

POSITION OF THE SOCIETY

AT END OF SESSION 1916-17

SINCE the last Report was issued the Society has received a heavy blow in the death of its past President, Dr. James Hope Moulton, through exposure at sea after the torpedoing by an Austrian submarine of the steamer on which he was returning from India. His friend, Dr. Rendel Harris, who fortunately survived the ordeal, has made known the fortitude with which Dr. Moulton endured the circumstances of peculiar horror through which the party passed, until he at length succumbed, and was buried at sea. As for the loss which we, and not only we, but Christianity and scholarship in general, have sustained, others have written in our Journal (pp. 25, 29). Dr. Moulton had, however, been President of this Society for a year before he left for India. We must all, I think, feel grateful for this fact, and for the opportunity it gave us of coming into closer contact with his attractive and benign personality, and the Secretaries cannot but wish to record their sense of the special privilege which their office gave

them in this respect. Probably members in general will agree that one of the pleasantest hours in the records of the Society was that occasion on October 5th, 1914, when Dr. Moulton was elected President (*vice* Professor Rhys Davids retiring). One of the happiest points of our Society is that it forms an occasion for the harmonious meeting of men of the most varied opinions, united by their interest in scholarship, and never was this better shown than in the speeches, so obviously sincere, and showing such genuine admiration and friendship, delivered on this occasion. One more death has to be recorded—that of Mr. R. B. Woods, a member since 1910, who always took a keen interest in the affairs of the Society. He was a man of a type of which Lancashire is proud to think she produces more than the average—the intellectual artisan, who in the midst of hard manual labour finds time to read and think. A man of deep religious feeling and an Evangelist of the Independent Methodist Connexion, it was his interest in the Bible which drew him to our Society, and he was a member of the little Study Circle, to which the founder of the Oriental Society, the late Professor Hogg, so kindly gave many of his leisure hours in the last years of his life. As our original members pass away, may new ones arise to carry on their work!

As to the ordinary routine of the Society—the number of members is 91. There have been four resignations and two deaths during the year.

The number of meetings has been five. The three held in the afternoon were fairly well attended, but the audience at the two evening meetings was very poor; this is the more to be regretted as the lecturers were in both cases addressing us for the first time, and those who were present found them worthy of the keenest attention. It is to be hoped that they may be prevailed on to address us again ere long, and that we may assemble in greater numbers.

The number of books and pamphlets added to our collection is thirty-two. This includes the periodicals we exchange with various societies. The most important additions are *Le Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. LXXII., 1915, presented by Le Musée Guimet, Paris, in exchange for our Journal, and *Persia, Past and Present*, by A. V. W. Jackson, presented by the Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton in memory of his brother, our late President, to whose library it belonged.

Mr. Grafton Milne has most kindly presented us with twenty of his articles on Coins and other subjects connected with Græco-Roman Egypt. This is a welcome strengthening of our collection in a direction in which it was weak. A complete list of additions will be found on p. 18.

Miss M. A. Murray, of University College, London, most kindly volunteered to fill the gap caused by the absence of our University lecturer, Mr. T. E. Peet, on military duty, and delivered courses of lectures on Egyptian History and Language during the winter. These were, unfortunately, but very poorly attended, war work and illness preventing the presence of many previous students.

As to our Journal, it is encouraging to note that the sale of the number for 1912-13 has been sufficient to recoup the University Press for the £5 which they are always prepared to expend on its production, and has also enabled them to return to us a few shillings of the £25 contributed by us for the same end. The sales of the numbers since published have so far been less, owing to the war, whilst the expenses are constantly increasing.

A most welcome and timely donation of £5 from Mrs. Philip Fletcher enables us to issue again a fair-sized journal. It is much to be wished, however, that more subscribers of

larger sums than the minimum of 10s. 6d., necessary for Journal membership, may be forthcoming. Until this is the case, or the membership increases largely, the position of the Journal will remain precarious.

W.M.C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1916—1917

THE First Meeting of the Session was held at the University on November 3rd, 1916, the Bishop of Salford in the chair. Before the Society proceeded to other business, Professor Elliot Smith expressed the sorrow felt by its members at the death of Sir Gaston Maspero. The passing away of this great Egyptologist and Orientalist was a loss to scholarship of which the Society took sad note. The speaker proposed a resolution, which was seconded by Mrs. Hogg, and it was decided to send a message of condolence to Sir Gaston Maspero's relatives. The Treasurer-Secretary then read a report on the position of the Society down to August 6th, 1916. The Meeting proceeded to elect or re-elect officers. The Bishop of Salford (Dr. L. C. Casartelli) was elected President; Principal W. H. Bennett was elected a member of the Council; the other officers and the members of the Council were re-elected.

The President then called upon Mr. Aylward M. Blackman, M.A., to give his address on "Egyptian Conceptions of Immortality." Mr. Blackman said he used the plural "Conceptions" because the beliefs of the Egyptians were so numerous and at the same time so conflicting. Proofs of the existence of the belief in a future life are found in the burial-customs of the Proto-Egyptians as early as 4500 B.C. These customs showed that man though dead

was felt to need still all the paraphernalia of his earthly existence. Great importance was attached to the preservation of the body. The dead must possess a body to dwell in. Since therefore, in spite of every precaution often the body perished or was destroyed, the sculptor was called in to fashion an exact likeness in which the soul could take up its abode. The Egyptian name of the Book of the Dead is "The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day." It was so called because it is concerned largely with the belief that the dead could "go in and out" of the grave "unhindered." In course of time difficulty was presented in the matter of supplying the food and other equipment needed for the graves of the wealthy. This was overcome by calling in the help of magic. By means of magic, representations of the things needed became realities for the deceased. This explains the embellishment of the walls of the tomb-chapels of the Egyptians with so many varied scenes (slaughtering of cattle, ploughing, sowing, harvesting, etc.). Under the influence of this belief in predynastic times clay models of cattle, boats, and fat women were placed in the grave along with the corpse of the dead warrior. In the Fourth Dynasty only the upper classes could afford the luxury of a sculptured and painted tomb-chapel. In the Sixth Dynasty the graves of the well-to-do middle class people contain carved wooden models corresponding to many of the scenes depicted on the walls of the tomb-chapels of their superiors. Another conception existing side by side with this is that the soul might "change itself into all things that the heart desireth." Thus the soul might fly away as a bird, or might enter a lotus flower, or a snake, or a crocodile. A much more advanced conception is that the dead left this world altogether and departed to a distant country (a subterranean region, "the West"). The chief occupation of the inhabitants of the Elysian fields (the "Field of Earu") was agriculture. This work would not be to the taste of the upper classes, so they were provided with servants (magical figures made of stone, porcelain, or wood). On

his journey to the happy Field of Earu, the deceased would encounter many dangers. To ward off these he was provided with magical formulæ and spells. In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties these were engraved on the walls of the burial chambers in the royal pyramids. Hence what are called the "Pyramid Texts." During the Middle Kingdom many of these and other texts were written on the boards of the coffins of the nobles and officials.¹ In the Imperial Age we find another collection, including many of the "Pyramid" and Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, written upon rolls of papyrus. In the Fifth Dynasty the cult of the Sun-god Re, the deity of On, became prominent. The Sun-worshipping monarchs of this dynasty built great sun-temples in which the central object of worship was a stone pillar or obelisk, which was a replica of the Benben stone in the temple at Heliopolis (On), the chief temple of the Sun-god. Sun-worship became the state religion. This was due to an infusion of foreign blood (intermarriage with the Armenoid people of Northern Syria). We now find an entirely different view of immortality interwoven with the more primitive ideas. At death the deceased flew up to heaven, where he was united with the Sun-god and became himself one of the great gods. But with this Heliopolitan conception is combined the popular and more ancient belief of an agricultural underworld. Throughout the later periods of the Middle and New Kingdoms, as well as in the Saitic and Ptolemaic times, contradictory notions appear side by side and find equal acceptance. Another doctrine arose under the extraordinary influence of the Osiris-Isis myth (possibly derived, in part at least, from Syria). An attempt was made by the priests of Re to combine the Osirian legend (resurrection of Osiris) with the older and quite different beliefs. The dead will rise in the same fashion as Osiris rose, in a physical resurrection. His limbs too will be collected together by the gods. His head will once more be united to his bones

¹ See the coffins from "The Tomb of Two Brothers" in the Manchester Museum.

and his bones be united to his head. And just as Osiris was summoned before the tribunal of the gods, so also every deceased person has to undergo a trial before he can be admitted into the company of the glorified dead.

At the conclusion of the address, which was illustrated by excellent lantern slides, a vote of thanks was proposed by Professor Elliot Smith and seconded by Professor Canney. A discussion followed in which the President, Professor Canney, and others took part.

THE Second Meeting of the Session was held at the University on December 6th, 1916, the President (the Bishop of Salford) in the Chair. Professor Elliot Smith delivered an address on "Sidelights on the Aryan Problem." His main thesis was the far-reaching influence of Babylonian beliefs upon early Aryan mythology. The address was followed by a discussion in which the President and Professor Conway took part. Its substance, with important additions, is likely to be published in due course.

THE Third Meeting of the Session was held at the University on January 16th, 1917, Professor Elliot Smith in the Chair. Miss M. A. Murray lectured on "Egypt and the Holy Grail," and sought to prove that that portion of the Grail Romance which relates to Joseph of Arimathæa is Egyptian in origin. At the beginning of the legend the route taken by Joseph indicates that the whole action takes place in Egypt. The names of the principal characters in the story show an Egyptian origin. Further proofs of the Egyptian origin are to be found in the passages which relate to the Grail itself and to Josephes. The reference to a "wooden ark" points to a Christian ceremony, though a ceremony not in use in the Western Church. In the Coptic celebration of the Eucharist a wooden ark plays a large

part. Again, in the consecration of Josephes Coptic ritual may be recognised; and the vestments with which Josephes was clothed appear to be those in use in the Coptic and Byzantine Churches. Another interesting proof of the connection with Egypt, and the derivation both of names and religious ideas from that country, lies in the name of the castle in which the Grail was finally housed—Corbenie. The Arabic Qurbān is the usual name in the Coptic Church for the Eucharist. Castle Corbenie may therefore be explained "The House of the Eucharist." The date at which the Grail legend in its connection with Joseph of Arimathæa began to be current would seem to have been the early part of the Eighth Century A.D.*

At the conclusion of the lecture the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Society. He remarked that in the past few years Miss Murray had advanced several theories which had seemed bold, but which fresh facts had done much to confirm. He had himself, as members of the Society knew, affirmed constantly the immense influence of Egypt on Britain. Miss Murray's stimulating lecture raised many interesting points which could not be discussed, as she had to leave to give another lecture.

THE **Fourth Meeting** of the Session was held at the University on February 14th, 1917, the Vice-Chancellor of the University (Sir Henry Miers) in the Chair. Dr. Berlin had been announced to deliver an address on "Hebrew Assonance and Rhythm in the Old Testament." The speaker remarked at the outset that the subject as announced was too large for one address, and asked to be allowed on this occasion to deal with part of it. He examined in particular the question to what extent various kinds of assonance are present in the Old Testament writings. Rhyme by

*See further Miss Murray's articles on "The Egyptian Elements in the Grail Romance" in *Ancient Egypt*, 1916.

vowels only, he decided, was hardly noticeable. As regards ordinary rhyme there are many apparent instances, but the rhymes are accidental rather than intentional. The lecturer agreed with Kœnig, Cornill, Gray, and others that rhyme as such is usually avoided. On the other hand, alliteration is employed frequently, especially by the Prophets. There are many good and striking examples in the Book of Isaiah. There are, moreover, a number of alphabetical Psalms, in which not only does each line begin with a letter of the alphabet, but there is also alliterative repetition of the letter in the lines. At the conclusion of the address the Vice-Chancellor, Principal Bennett, and Professor Canney, in thanking the speaker, expressed great appreciation. Dr. Berlin offered to deal with other aspects of the subject in another address, and the offer was accepted very gladly.

THE Fifth Meeting of the Session was held at the University on March 15th, Mr. R. H. Crompton in the Chair. Dr. Alphonse Mingana delivered an address on the "Odes of Solomon." The speaker gave a general survey of the problems arising out of the important discovery of what appears to be the first Christian hymn-book. He then dealt specially with the Christian character, the date of composition, and the original language of the Odes, and with the relations of the book to the Bible. Reference was made to a new edition in two volumes, undertaken by the John Rylands' Library. The edition has been prepared by Dr. J. Rendel Harris and the speaker, and is to be published soon. The date of composition was placed in the period A.D. 60-200, and the original language was taken to be Semitic, probably Aramaic. Harnack's hypothesis of a Jewish composition, interpolated by a Christian hand towards the end of the First Century, was rejected on good grounds. At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks to Dr. Mingana was proposed by the Rev. D. P. Buckle, and seconded by the Rev. T. Grigg-Smith.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ADDED TO
THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY
SINCE SEPTEMBER 1916

*Books may be borrowed (by members only) by applying to the
Treasurer-Secretary at the Manchester Museum, from
whom also the Catalogue published 1913,
may be had, price 3d.*

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“First Steps in Egyptian,” pp. 321. London, 1895.²

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“Iranian Views of Origins,” pp. 21. 1916.³

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“Assyrian Grammar.” Trans. London, 1889.²

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New York, 1906.⁴

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Alexandrian Tetradrachms of Tiberius," pp. 7, pls. 1.
London, 1910.

"Alexandrian Coinage of Galba," pp. 11. London,
1909.

"Antony and Cleopatra," p. 1, pl. 1.

"Clay Sealings from The Fayum," pp. 13. London,
1906.

"Currency of Egypt under Romans to Diocletian,"
pp. 15. London.

"Græco-Roman Leaden Tesseræ from Abydos," pp. 3,
pl. 1. London, 1914.

"The Greek Gods in Egypt," pp. 12.

"Greek Inscriptions from Egypt," pp. 17, figs. 11.
London, 1901.

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"The Hawara Papyri," pp. 19. Leipzig, 1911.

"Hoards of Coins found in Egypt," pp. 8. Leipzig,
1903.

"A Hoard of Constantinian Coins from Egypt," pp.
27. Athens, 1914.

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- "Leaden Token-Coinage of Egypt under the Ptolemies,"
pp. 24, pl. 1. London, 1908.
- "The Organisation of the Alexandrian Mint in the
Reign of Diocletian," pp. 11. London, 1916.
- "Ostraka from Denderah," pp. 12. Leipzig, 1913.
- "Ptolemaic Seal Impressions," pp. 16, pls. 2.
- "Relics of Græco-Egyptian Schools," pp. 12. London,
1908.
- "Roman Coin-moulds from Egypt," pp. 12. London,
1905.
- "The Sanatorium of Dêr-el-Bahri," pp. 3, pls. 2.
London, 1914.⁵

Musée Guimet—

- "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," Vol. LXXII., 1915.¹
University of Rome—

- "Rivista degli Studi Orientali," Vol. VII., fasc. 1
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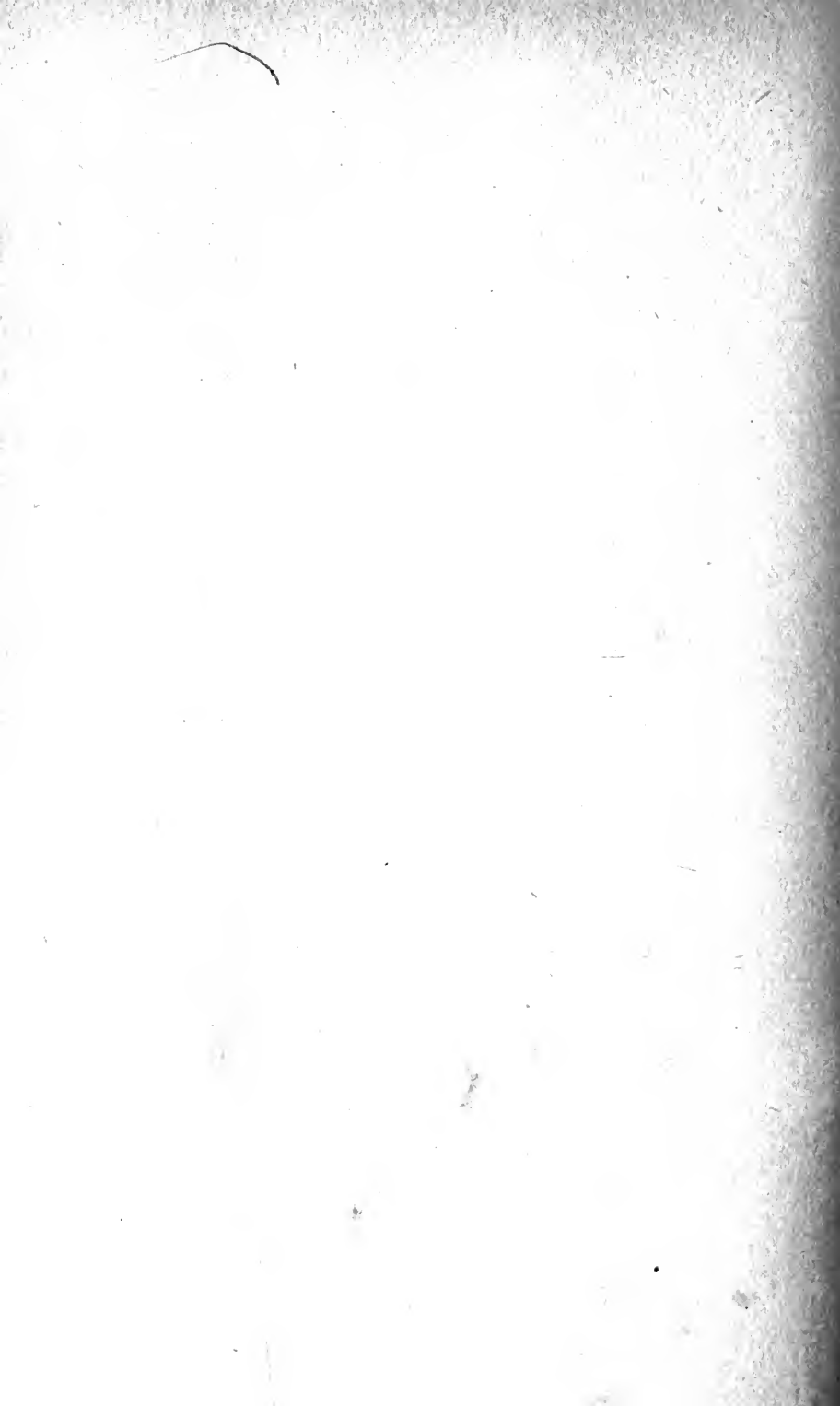
University of Uppsala—

- "Le Monde Oriental," Vol. X., 1916, nos. 1 and 2.¹

¹ Exchange. ² Presented by Mr. H. Ling Roth.

³ Presented by the Bishop of Salford. ⁴ Presented by Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton,

⁵ All presented by the Author,



SPECIAL PAPERS
& ARTICLES

JAMES HOPE MOULTON AS AN IRĀNIAN SCHOLAR

By L. C. CASARTELLI.

THOSE of us who were privileged to be present at the meeting of our Society on the day before the departure of our late President for India, and to listen to his deeply interesting and inspiring address on "Some Problems of East and West," so full of suggestive illustrations from a wide and sane survey of philological and ethnological facts, little thought that it was the last time we should hear the lecturer's voice and follow his scholarly handling of great racial problems, as interesting to the politician to-day as to the student. On the contrary, we looked forward to his return with a rich harvest of fresh scientific material from the East, and to sharing largely in the results of his investigations in a sphere of research which he had made specially his own. And then came the cruel tragedy of the sea, "the deep damnation of his taking off," and surely nowhere outside of his family circle was that loss more keenly felt than in the ranks of the Society which for two years had been proud to call him its President.

To the small knot of those specially interested in Irānian and Avestan studies—in this country almost an infinitesimal number—the death of Professor Moulton is a quite exceptional loss. Of course he was a scholar of manifold attainments in varied branches, of which I cannot speak. In Avestan lore he was "a master in Israel," and it is in this character alone that I am to write a few brief words

concerning him. They must be brief, because I have already written what I had to say in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, at the time of his death, and in that estimate I have nothing to change. I noted there that his charming little book, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (Cambridge University Press, 1911), first gave to the outside world some knowledge of his capacity as a student of Avesta and the Avestan religion and promise of more important work to come. "It is dedicated to the 'pia memoria' of E. B. Cowell, for it is an interesting fact that Moulton owed the beginnings of his Avestan scholarship and his first reading of the Gāthās to that remarkable man—the same inspiring teacher, it will be remembered, who first taught Edward Fitzgerald Persian and introduced him to Omar Khayyām."

His chief work in the Irānian field of research, *Early Zoroastrianism*, I have already reviewed in this Journal (1913-1914, pp. 79-81). To that review, again, I must refer my readers. There are few departments of oriental study in which more divergence of views still obtains than in Avestan scholarship. Hence it was inevitable that several of Dr. Moulton's theories in the volume in question should have had to meet criticism from other writers. His very ingenious and cleverly argued theory of the Magi as a Turanian priesthood and their appropriation and remodeling of primitive Zoroastrianism, brilliant as it is, has not commanded general assent. Neither has his argument for a much greater antiquity of Zarathushtra and the Gāthās than recent scholars have held; nor for the identification of the Achæmenid royal faith with the Avestan. Personally I think several of these and kindred questions still await a final solution; but I am inclined to believe that some of Professor Moulton's critics were less qualified than himself to estimate the evidence. None, however, can deny the profound and solid learning, the well-balanced and sane judgment which characterised his work. His new transla-

tion of the Gāthās into English would alone render his work invaluable.

Professor Moulton's visit to the Parsis in India was, we may gather, an unqualified success. He gained the esteem and even affection of all. At their request he delivered a series of interesting addresses in Bombay on the "Teaching of Zarathushtra," their great prophet. He was coming back, no doubt, with a store of valuable material for the prosecution of his Avestan studies: *dis aliter visum*. One unpublished volume, *The Treasure of the Magi*, is in course of publication.¹ It will be looked forward to with keen interest by all students of Zoroastrianism and the History of Religions in general.

As a brief appendix, I have tried to compile a little bibliography of Professor Moulton's publications in the specific field of Irānian scholarship. It has been difficult to find out all he wrote, and the list, I fear, is very incomplete.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY PROF. J. H. MOULTON TO IRĀNIAN SCHOLARSHIP

BOOKS.

The Early Religious Poetry of Persia. Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Early Zoroastrianism (Hibbert Lectures). London, Williams and Norgate, 1913.

The Teaching of Zarathushtra. Bombay, P. A. Wadia, 1916.

The Treasure of the Magi. A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism (in course of publication). London, Oxford University Press, 1917.

¹ In the series, "The Religious Quest of India," edited by J. N. Farquahar and H. D. Griswold.

ARTICLES.

In Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*:—

“Fravashi,” Vol. VI.

“Irānians,” Vol. VII.

“Magi,” Vol. VIII.

In *Third International Congress of the History of Religion*:—

“Syncretism as illustrated in the History of Parsism.”
(Vol. II., pp. 89-100.)

“It is his Angel.” (*Journal of Theological Studies*, 1902,
pp. 514-527).

“A Zoroastrian Idyll.” (*Expository Times*, 18, XII.)

“The Zoroastrian Conception of a Future Life.”
(Address at Victoria Institute, 19 April, 1915.)

In *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*:

“Remarks on Dr. Gray's paper on Irānian Materials in
the *Acta Sanctorum*,” (1913-1914, pp. 11 sq.)

“Some Problems of East and West.” (Abstract of
address: 1915-16, pp. 11 sq.)

DR. MOULTON'S HELLENISTIC SEMINAR

By H. McLACHLAN.

IT is not unfitting that in the record of the academic activities of the late Dr. J. H. Moulton a place should be found for the mention of the University Hellenistic Seminar founded by him in October, 1913.

A number of members of the staff of the University and of its affiliated Theological Colleges together with other scholars resident in the district were invited by Dr. Moulton to meet in his room fortnightly during Term for the purpose of a critical study of New Testament Greek. From the beginning, until he left for India two years later, Dr. Moulton acted as President, and though he was not the man to express such a sentiment, he might have said of the Seminar, without fear of contradiction, *magna pars fui*. His interest in its proceedings never flagged and he looked forward to the adoption of plans of study, which his removal has rendered impossible of execution. Several times he sent from India greetings to his fellow-members.

Dr. Moulton's place was filled with great ability by Archdeacon Allen—a member of the Seminar from the first—and, as far as possible, the scheme of our late President has been consistently pursued.

During the Sessions 1913-16 the matter peculiar to St. Luke was studied in detail, and during the present Session (1916-17) the Acts of the Apostles has been the subject of study. Attention has been paid not merely to the various MS. readings of the Greek text, but also to the versions (Latin, Syriac and Egyptian), to the evidence of the papyri

and the inscriptions and, as long as Professor Calder was with us, to Modern Greek. For the sources of St. Luke, Greek and Semitic, careful search has been made.

In all, fifty-one meetings have been held with an average attendance of seven. The minutes of proceedings amount to nearly 200 pages of closely written matter. An important feature of the meetings has been the discovery of linguistic problems requiring investigation, which have given rise to reports afterwards presented to the Seminar, and, in some cases, also contributed as notes to the *Expository Times*, or to various publications by individual members.

Thus, the note on *σκανδαλίζω* in Archdeacon Allen's Commentary on Mark (1915) was, as he acknowledges, "suggested by a hint from Dr. Moulton that *σκάνδαλον* should properly mean 'a snare' rather than 'a stumbling block.'" Dr. Moulton himself contributed a note to the *Expository Times* of April, 1915, in which reference is made to Dr. Bennett's examination of the Hebrew equivalents of the word in the Old Testament. In July of the same year the Rev. T. Nicklin contributed a second note upon *σκάνδαλον* dealing with *ἐνσκολιευόμενος* of Job xl. 19 (LXX) in which the suggestions of three other members of the Seminar were mentioned. The Rev. L. W. Grensted also wrote for the April Number, 1915, an article on the "Use of Enoch in St. Luke xvi. 19-31," which had its origin in the Seminar, and in July, 1916, Mr. Nicklin was responsible for a note in the same Journal on *παταρρεῖν*.

Again, Archdeacon Allen's discussion of *ἤρξατο - αὐτο* with an infinitive, when nothing is said of any further development (Comm. on Mark, p. 49) was first presented to the Seminar as a report on the word. Recently, the Rev. D. P. Buckle submitted a note on *πρηγής*, Acts i. 18, which it is hoped to see in print, showing that the rendering "swollen" by Dr. Chase in the *Journal of Theological Studies*,

by Dr. Souter in his *Pocket Lexicon to the Greek New Testament*, and by Dr. Moffatt in his *Translation of the New Testament* is quite without justification.

Among the longer minutes of proceedings are a discussion by the Secretary of the reading of Codex D at Matt. xx. 28 as a literal translation of an Aramaic source edited by Luke in the so-called Parable of the Wedding Feast (xiv. 8-11); from the same hand, an examination of the alleged Semitisms *μὴν τῶν ἡμερῶν* Luke xvii. 22 and *εἰς . . . εἰς* Luke xviii. 10 (D); and a statement of the meaning of *εὐχαριστία*, according to the inscriptions, by the Rev. D. P. Buckle, showing that from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. "the meaning of the word was somewhat flexible."

Brief *obiter dicta* by Dr. Moulton on matters about which he has said little elsewhere lend to the minutes an added interest for future students in the Hellenistic Department of the University. Despite occasional sharp differences of opinion, the harmony which has always prevailed at the meetings of the Seminar has been most marked—a result due, in a large measure, to the geniality and tact of Dr. Moulton and his successor in the Chair.

In one detail the writer believes Dr. Moulton would have modified his opinion had he been spared. "An over-tendency to minimise Semitisms in the N. T.," says his friend and colleague, Dr. Milligan, "is probably the most pertinent criticism that can be directed against Dr. J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena* to his Grammar of New Testament Greek." Dr. Moulton's admissions in the course of discussions in the Seminar showed that he had not always realised the full weight of the argument for "Semitisms," whilst they displayed the true scholar's magnanimous spirit in his treatment of the "case for the other side." No words can fully express the esteem in which Dr. Moulton was held by those whose privilege it was to work with

him, and the members of the Hellenistic Seminar treasure the memory of many pleasant and profitable hours spent in the study of the New Testament under his able and devoted leadership.*

*The writer of this article has acted as Secretary to the Hellenistic Seminar since its foundation. Readers will be interested to hear that a Hebrew Seminar is now at work along the same lines in connection with the Manchester and District Branch of the Society for Hebraic Studies. The meetings have been held at the University, and seem likely to produce equally good results.—Ed. *J.M.E.O.S.*

THE TEXT OF JUDGES XVII-XVIII.

By M. H. SEGAL.

SINCE the publication of Karl Budde's *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (Giessen, 1890), there has been a general agreement among scholars that the difficulties presented by the text of chaps. xvii.-xviii. of the Book of Judges can best be solved by the so-called "documentary hypothesis." This hypothesis maintains that our text is composed of two documents, each of which gave originally an independent account of the same events. These two documents were fitted together and united, more or less skilfully, by a redactor, into what appears now as a single narrative. The redactor, however, failed to remove all the redundancies and discrepancies which arose from the union of two different documents, with the result that the product of his labours presents a narrative which is at once inflated, confused, and self-contradictory. Now, it is evident that this theory of the composite character of our text can be justified only if it fulfils the following two conditions: first, it must show that our text is capable of being dissolved into two component parts, each of which presents a reasonably complete and coherent narrative; and secondly, it must prove an effective solution of at least the principal problems of our text without at the same time raising fresh difficulties. I propose to show in the following pages that the "documentary theory" fails to fulfil either of these two essential conditions; and that the problems of our text can be solved by a simpler and more reasonable method. It will be sufficient for our purpose to confine our enquiry to an examination of the analyses of our

text offered by two of the most authoritative of recent exponents of the "documentary hypothesis," viz., G. F. Moore in his well-known commentary on Judges in the "International Critical" series (1895, p. 365 ff.), and W. Nowack in his *Richter* in the *Hand-Kommentar zum A. T.* (p. 140 ff.).

Moore bases his analysis upon the following two criteria:¹

1. One document, which we shall call *A*, spoke only of *ēphôd* and *terāphîm* (xvii. 5); while the other document, which we call *B*, had only *pesel* and *massēkâh* (xvii. 4).
2. In *A* Micah's priest is a full-grown Levite (*ha-'îsh*) wandering from Bethlehem, whom Micah hires to make his home with him (xvii. 8-11^a). In *B*, on the other hand, the priest is a young Levite (*na'ar*) who was living in the neighbourhood of Micah (*gār shām*, xvii. 7, 11^b, 12^a). Accordingly, Moore separates the two documents as follows: *A* ch. xvii. 1, 5, 8-11^a, 12^b, 13; ch. xviii. 1^{ba}. 2 (in part). 3 (last clause only). 4^b-6. 7 (in part). 8-10 (in part). 11-16, 18^a, 17^b, 18^b-30. *B* ch. xvii. 2-4, 7, 11^b-12^a; ch. xviii. 1 (in part). 3 (to *bāzeh*). 4^a. 7 (in part). 8-10 (in part). 11 (in part). 15. 17-29 (in part). 31.

We will first examine the soundness of the criteria of Moore's analysis, and then the analysis itself.

1. It is held by Moore and by other scholars following Vatke, that the original documents could have spoken only of one pair of *sacra*, either *ēphôd* and *terāphîm* or *pesel* and *massēkâh*, but not of all the four together. This theory is based upon the changes in the order of enumeration of the *sacra* in xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20. But it may be asked whether it is quite safe to base a theory upon so manifestly corrupt and disordered a text as that of xviii. 17-20, and to make the theory so obtained the foundation of a far-reaching textual hypothesis. In xviii. 18 *'eth pesel hā-ēphôd* is obviously a corruption for *'eth happesel we'eth hā-ēphôd*, as in v. 17, and LXX. In v. 20, we must

¹ Cf. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

supplement with LXX: [*happesel*] *wē'eth hammassēkāh*, as in v. 14. Moore, and the other followers of Vatke, are faced with the difficulty of explaining how xviii. 14-20, derived from documents which only knew of one pair of *sacra*, can enumerate three or four such objects. They seek to get over the difficulty by assuming that *pesel* and *massēkāh* were inserted in these verses by the redactor (Moore, pp. 395, 396, 397). But then, why did not the redactor observe the same order in all his insertions? No doubt he did, and the present confusion must be due to the negligence of some transcriber. If so, what prevents us from maintaining that all the four *sacra* belong to the original narrator, who put them in the order given in xviii. 14, and that the permutations in the other verses are due to scribal carelessness? Thus the whole theory derived from these permutations falls to the ground. Moreover, xviii. 30, belonging according to Moore to *A*, which knew only of *ēphōd* and *terāphīm*, nevertheless speaks of the sacred spoil as *pesel*. So xviii. 31, which according to Budde, Nowack and others belongs to *A*, has also *pesel* alone. How is this strange phenomenon to be explained? These scholars reply that *pesel* is in one of these verses a redactional substitution for *ēphōd*. But this explanation is hardly plausible. A redactor would be more likely to leave *ēphōd* in the text, adding *pesel* to it, than to substitute one for the other. There is no reason why he should have given up here the method of interpolation which he is alleged to have employed in xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20, in favour of substitution. Surely, it is more reasonable to assume that *pesel* is original throughout the narrative, and that for the sake of brevity *pesel* alone is mentioned in xviii. 30, 31, because of its pre-eminent importance over the other *sacra*.

Finally, *A* fails to explain why Micah should have erected a special sanctuary to house his *ēphōd* and *terāphīm*. (xvii. 5; cf. Moore, p. 378 f.) The *ēphōd* was carried about in the hand (cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9) and did not necessarily require a

sanctuary. As for the *terāphîm*, they were kept in ordinary dwelling-houses as part of the domestic furniture. (cf. Gen. xxxi. 19, 34; 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16.)² Ch. xvii. 5 can mean only that the *bêth e'lôhîm* had been erected to house some other *sacra*, viz., the *pesel* and *massêkâh*, and that to complete its equipment, particularly for the purpose of obtaining oracles, Micah added also the *ēphôd* and *terāphîm*.

2. We now come to Moore's second criterion. In *A* the priest is a full-grown man wandering from Bethlehem in search of a home (xvii. 8), while in *B* he is a young Levite, who had his home as a *gēr* in Micah's village (xvii. 7). Now this implied contradiction between '*îsh* and *na'ar*, which is especially emphasized by Budde (*op. cit.*, p. 143) and Nowack (p. 146), has no foundation in fact. '*Îsh* is often used together with *na'ar* of one and the same person. So in 1 Kings xi. 28 Jeroboam is first spoken of as *hā-îsh* and then as *hanna'ar*. Cf. also Josh. vi. 22 and 23; 1 Sam. ii. 17; xxx. 17; 2 Sam. i. 2, 5, 6, 13; 2 Kings ix, 4, 11. '*Îsh* may be applied to a youth in the sense of a "male person," while conversely *na'ar* is often used of a mature man in a subordinate position, such as the Levite occupied both at Micah's house, and also before he came to Micah. Cf. the description of Ziba as *na'ar*, 2 Sam. ix. 9, 10. That the Levite in *B* was not a mere lad living with Micah as a member of his own family is proved by xviii. 15, assigned by Moore and others to *B*, where this *hanna'ar hallēvî* is found in possession of a house of his own. As to the difference between the description of the man as *hanna'ar hallēvî* and as *hakkôhên*, on which so much stress is laid by Moore and others, it is plain that the latter title is used only when the man is brought into connection with the *sacra*, and is thus intended to describe

² In Judges viii. 27, to which Moore refers, there is no mention of the erection of a sanctuary to house Gideon's *ēphôd*. Further, we must not assume that Micah's *ēphôd* was of the same character as Gideon's *ēphôd*. It was probably similar to that of Ebiathar in 1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9.

his official character and the functions which he exercised; cf. xvii. 13; xviii. 4, 6, 18, 19, etc. Further, *gār shām* in xvii. 7 cannot mean, as Budde and Moore assert, that the Levite had been resident with Micah. For if so, the writer would have said *וְשָׁם נָרַע מִבֵּית ל'*. As the text stands, *shām* can refer only to Bethlehem, as has been recognised by Nowack. Thus this alleged difference between the sources also disappears.

Having disposed of the criteria set up by Moore, let us now examine his analysis. Document *A* is said to begin with xvii. 1, and to continue in xvii. 5. But surely, it is not likely that the narrator would have said: "There was a *man* . . . whose name was *Micah*. And the *man Micah* had . . ." Moore seeks to overcome the difficulty by ascribing the first two words in *v.* 5, *wehā'ish mīkāh* to the redactor. It is, however, more reasonable to assume that the resumption of the name Micah was due to the original writer, and was necessitated by the intervening narration of the episode in *vv.* 2-4. It may further be asked what induced Micah to erect a sanctuary for which he had apparently later, to judge from the wording of *v.* 5, to make an *ēphōd* and *terāphīm*, and to engage a regular priest. Surely the narrator would not have failed to give the circumstances which led a private individual to such an extraordinary undertaking. The only possible answer is that the narrator *does* give an account of these circumstances, *viz.*, in *vv.* 2-4. In other words, *v.* 5 is the continuation not of *v.* 1, but of *v.* 4, which alone can explain both the wording and the contents of *v.* 5.

The continuation of *v.* 5 is said to be *v.* 8. Moore recognises that the elimination of *v.* 7 renders the opening of *v.* 8 too abrupt. He therefore conjectures an original introduction to *v.* 8 as follows: "*Now there was a Levite from Bethlehem of Judah (8) And the man went,*" etc. This introduction was omitted by the redactor in favour of the fuller text, *v.* 7, from *B*. But it must be objected that such a brief and bald introduction

hardly lessens the abruptness of the supposed original text. There can be no doubt that the true introduction to *v.* 8 is to be found in *v.* 7, *i.e.*, *vv.* 7-8 both belong to one hand.—*A* continues to *v.* 11^a, and is resumed only in *v.* 12^b. But it is hardly credible that the original would have failed to tell us the important fact of the installation of the newcomer to supersede the irregular priesthood of Micah's son. *V.* 12^a, assigned by Moore to *B*, is just as necessary for *A*. Note that *A* has already used the phrase *wayyemallē 'eth yad . . .* in *v.* 5.—*A* goes on to *v.* 13, breaks off at the end of xviii. 2, re-appears in the last clause of xviii. 3 (*ū-mah l'kā pōh*), and is resumed again only in xviii. 4^b. Moore fails to tell us what intervened in the original document between xviii. 2 and the last three words of xviii. 3, or between these three words and the abrupt statement in xviii. 4^b. Why did the spies put such a surprising question (*ū-mah l'kā pōh*?) to the priest, who, according to *A*, must have been an utter stranger to them? The only common-sense explanation of this question is found in *v.* 3^a, *viz.*, that the Levite was an old acquaintance of theirs whom they had met on his wanderings described in xvii. 8. I may further add in passing that there is really no reason why Moore should not have ascribed in *v.* 3^b *wayyōmērū . . . bāzeh* to *A*, and *ū-mah l'kā pōh* to *B*, or *v.* 4^a to *A* and *v.* 4^b to *B*.—With the exception of *vv.* 15, 31, and a number of phrases and duplicate clauses, *A* is made to continue to the end of chapter xviii. I shall not attempt to follow the tangled maze of the analysis of this part of the chapter, since Moore himself is so very hazy about it. But I may remark that the elimination of *v.* 15 renders *v.* 16 not only abrupt but also unintelligible. *Pethah hashsha'ar* in *v.* 16 seems to hang in the air. If it referred to *bēth mīkāh* in *v.* 13, this latter phrase would surely have been repeated, *pethah sha'ar bēth mīkāh*, after the intervening long *v.* 14. The truth is that *v.* 15 is the necessary antecedent to *v.* 16.

The second document *B* is said to begin with xvii. 2. But

this verse must have had an introduction giving the name and place of the person who spoke to his mother, such as is found in *v.* 1.—*B* continues to *v.* 4, and is resumed again in *vv.* 7, 11^b, 12^a. These verses are thus supposed to form together a single and continuous section. But if so, it is strange that *v.* 7, which is in the middle of the section, should begin with the formula *wayyehî . . .*, usually employed only at the beginning of a new section. The verse should rather have begun somewhat as follows: *ושם נר נער לוי מבית לחם יהודה*. The truth is, as noted above, that *shām* really refers to Bethlehem, and not, as Moore assumes, to Micah's village. *V.* 7 (*wayyehî na'ar mibbēth . . .*) really begins a new section describing how Micah came to possess a Levite as priest, and is parallel to the first section of the narrative beginning in *v.* 1 (*wayyehî 'îsh mēhar . . .*), which describes how Micah became the possessor of a fully equipped sanctuary. Further, it is not quite clear why Micah had to appoint a priest at all, seeing that *B* says nothing of the erection of a sanctuary, and accordingly the *pesel* and *massēkāh* were presumably kept in Micah's own house. We nowhere find official priests officiating at private dwelling-houses and outside regular sanctuaries.

It is hard to follow the thread of *B* in ch. xviii. To this document are assigned a number of duplicate phrases and expressions in *vv.* 2, 7-10, which may quite well be explained as mere scribal glosses and variants. In addition to these stray phrases, Moore and other scholars ascribe to *B v.* 3, *minus* the last clause, with its continuation *v.* 4^a and *v.* 15, because of the occurrence in these verses of the epithet *hanna'ar hallēvî*. I have already shown above that this epithet may very well belong to the same document which has *hā-'îsh* (xvii. 8) or *hakkōhēn* (xviii. 4^b, 6, etc.). But apart from this, it is very hard to understand how according to this analysis the spies recognised the Levite by his voice (xviii. 3). Surely, it is plain that xviii. 3^a (*B*) refers back to xvii. 8 (*A*), and that the spies had

made the Levite's acquaintance during his wanderings from Bethlehem northwards in search of a home. In other words, xviii. 3, and xvii. 8, must belong to one and the same document. Budde, following some older German expositors, explains *ḵōl* in xviii. 2, as *dialect*. The spies knew from the Levite's dialect that he was a Bethlehemite, as if those rough and ready warriors had been trained German philologists. There is no analogy for this use of *ḵōl* in the sense of dialect. The question asked by some expositors, why the spies, did not know the Levite by his face, may be answered by the assumption that a long interval of time had elapsed since the Levite had passed through the Danite country, and that during that interval he had changed in his appearance, but not in his voice. Further, to what does *shāmāh* in v. 15 refer? Obviously to *habbātīm ha'ēllēh* in v. 14, or to *bēth mīkāh* in v. 13. This proves that v. 15 is the continuation of vv. 13, 14, and thus belongs to the same document as these latter verses.—Finally, v. 31, which is considered by these scholars to be independent of v. 30, and is thus assigned by Moore to *B*, and by others to *A*, fails to give any satisfactory sense. This verse does not say that the *pesel* stood at Dan "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh," but they *set up* the *pesel* "all the time," etc. This must mean that the act of setting up the *pesel* lasted "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh," which is manifestly absurd.

We may now proceed to examine Nowack's analysis of ch. xvii.³ Nowack bases his analysis upon the criteria adopted by Moore, with the additional assumption that in *A* the priest is not a Levite at all, but an ordinary layman. Following Wellhausen, Nowack analyses ch. xvii. as follows: *A* vv. 1, 2^a, 3^b ^β (from *we'attāh*), 4^a ^b ^a (to *keseḥ*, and inserting for the sake of completeness a hypothetical *wattitt'neḥū libnāh*), 5^a ^b ^a (to

³ Nowack's analysis of chap. xviii. is in its main features similar to Moore's analysis of that chapter.

û-terāphîm), 7 (only *mimmishpaḥath y^ehûdāh*), 8, 9^{a b β} (from *w^eanōkî*), 10^a, 11^a. *B vv.* 2^b, 3^{a b α} (to *û-massēkāh*), 4^{b β} (from *wattitt^enēhû*), 5^{b β} (from *wayy^emallē*), 7 (minus *mimmishpaḥath y^ehûdāh*), 9^{b α} (to *y^ehûdāh*), 11^b, 12, 13.

Now most of the objections raised above against Moore's analysis apply with equal force to Nowack's analysis. There are also a number of fresh difficulties. If the priest in *A* was not a Levite, why is he called in the same document *hallēvî* (*v.* 11^a)? Nowack answers that this *hallēvî* is a redactional substitution for an original *hā-'îsh*. If so, then the original form of *v.* 11^a must have run: *wayyôl hā-'îsh lāshebeth'eth hā-'îsh*, which is clearly impossible. We may further ask, if the priest was originally a layman, why was Micah so eager to engage the service of an unknown stranger on such costly terms? Surely he could easily have found in his own village some person willing to be consecrated as priest for such a high stipend. And how did this vagrant layman acquire the technical knowledge and skill necessary for obtaining oracles, which he is shown to have possessed in the same document *A*, in xviii. 5-6? Who looked after the sanctuary before the arrival of this layman priest, since *A* is ignorant of the temporary priesthood of Micah's son? Then again, *A* does not explain the connection between the theft of the mother's silver and the erection of the son's sanctuary. It is clear, though Nowack's *A* says nothing about it, that the sanctuary was erected at the cost of the stolen silver. Why should the silver have been applied to such a purpose? The answer must be that the mother had devoted it to God, as stated in *B*. *V.* 3^{b α} is therefore as necessary to *A* as to *B*. Moreover, in *v.* 9 Nowack deprives *A* of clause *ba*, because of the statement it contains *lēvî 'anōkî*. But surely *'anōkî hōlēk* alone cannot be the whole answer to Micah's question. Micah did not ask the stranger whither he was going, but rather whence he had come. The only logical answer to such a question is precisely the one found in clause *ba*, *lēvî anōkî*

mibbēth lehem . . . , which Nowack assigns to *B*. Finally, the account of the engagement of the stranger by Micah ends in *A* with *v. 11*. But surely, it is unlikely that the narrator would have failed to mention the important fact of the consecration of the stranger to the priesthood. In other words, *v. 12^a* is as necessary for *A* as for *B*.

In like manner, *B* will be found on examination to be incomplete and unintelligible without *A*. The mother's benediction and the son's restoration of the silver can be rendered intelligible only by *vv. 1, 2^a*, which Nowack assigns to *A*. The verb *wayy'mallē*, in *v. 5^b*, has no subject, unless it be *mīkāh* mentioned in *v. 5^a* (*A*), which implies that *v. 5^b* is the continuation of *v. 5^a*. Similarly *v. 9^{b a}* (*lēvī 'anōkē*) can be understood only as an answer to *v. 9^a*. Between *v. 9^{b a}* and its supposed continuation in *v. 11^b* we want a statement about the engagement of the Levite by Micah referred to below in the same document *B* in *xviii. 4^a*.

The foregoing pages will have made it abundantly clear that our narrative resists all attempts to separate it into two distinct documents. The "documentary hypothesis," therefore, fails to fulfil the first of the two essential conditions set down at the beginning of this paper. But it also fails to fulfil the second condition. It proves to be incapable of solving the real difficulties of our text. The *crux* of our textual problem is found in *xviii. 16-18*, the account of the theft by the Danites of Micah's *sacra* and his priest. With all their laborious analyses, the exponents of the "documentary hypothesis" are altogether powerless to disentangle the apparently confused and contradictory statements in these verses. They are further unable to allocate to either of their documents such additions as *xvii. 6*; *xviii. 12^b, 29^b*, or stray phrases like *wayyēlek hallēvī* in *xvii. 10^b*; *'asher mibb'nē dān* in *xviii. 16^b*, although the sole purpose of the second document *B* seems to be to serve as a repository for such apparently unnecessary phrases and clauses.

We may now attempt a fresh and independent study of our text. The failure of the "documentary hypothesis" forces upon us the conclusion that our narrative is a unity, and that it emanates from one author. Nevertheless, even a cursory perusal of the chapters will be sufficient to convince us that they contain a great deal of matter which cannot have come from the hand of the original narrator. We find in our text repetitions, explanations and amplifications which are not only unnecessary but also contradictory and confusing. These must be interpolations by later glossators and scribes. The origin of these interpolations is not, however, to be sought, with Wellhausen and Kuenen, in any ulterior or dishonest motives of the scribes, such as a desire to discredit the sanctuary and priesthood of Dan, but rather in the character and style of the narrative itself. The narrative formed a popular tale, which must have been re-told again and again, and each time with fresh additions. Moreover, even in its original form the narrative was somewhat inclined to a certain diffuseness of style. The fulness of description and fondness for detail displayed by the original narrator must have encouraged glossators and scribes to add further explanations and amplifications. Such glossatory additions are found in xvii. 3 (*'elep̄h ū-mēāh*); vi. 7 (*w^ehū gār shām*); xviii. 1^a, 3 (*ūmah l^{kā} pōh*), 10^b, 11 (*mišsor^eāh ū-mēeshtā'ōl*), 12^b, 16^b, 28 (*w^ehī . . . r^ehōb*), 29^b. No doubt some, if not all, of these additions were first written in the margin, and only later introduced into the text, often in the wrong place, by more or less ignorant scribes. There also arose dittographs which found their way into the text in the form of a clause or a whole verse, e.g., xvii. 10^b; xviii. 17. Again, variant readings were inserted in the text from the margin, e.g., xviii. 2 (*miḳḳšōthām 'anāshīm*); 7 (*yōshebeth . . . šdōnīm*); 31. Finally, the text exhibits also corruptions of letters and words which can no longer be restored with any certainty, such as *maklēm*, *yōrēsh 'ešer* in xviii. 7; *'attem* in xviii. 8. We will

now go through the chapters, and note these corruptions in the order of their occurrence in the text.

Ch. xvii. Verses 1-2 are preserved in their original form. The substance of the oath after *b'oznay* in *v. 2* was probably left unexpressed by the narrator himself (*cf.* Budde, p. 139).—Verses 2-4 have given commentators an enormous amount of trouble. *V. 3^a* is repeated in *v. 4^a*. The last three words in *v. 3* (*we'attāh 'ashībennū lāk*) are obviously not in their right place. Various attempts have been made to recover the original form of these verses, but none of these attempts can be pronounced satisfactory. Moore's reconstruction (p. 378), though plausible, fails to explain how the complicated transpositions, which he assumes, arose. I think all the difficulties can best be removed by regarding *we'attāh 'ashībennū lāk : wayyāsheb 'eth hakkeseeph l'immō*, *vv. 3^b-4^a*, as an intrusion from the margin. The original reading of *v. 3^a* was the shorter form found in *v. 4^a*. The present form of *v. 3^a* was originally a marginal amplification by a glossator, who sought to make the statement more explicit by giving the exact amount of the silver as in *v. 2*. A later scribe, preferring the amplified form of the margin to the briefer form of the text, transferred the marginal form to the text, and relegated the original form of the text to the margin. Now this marginal amplification, which now stands in the text as *v. 3^a*, had been preceded in the margin by another amplificatory addition: *we'attāh 'ashībennū lāk*, designed to render the statement in *v. 2*: *hinnēh hakkeseeph 'ittī 'anī l'kahtūw* more precise and explicit. These two marginal notes originally ran as follows: *we'attāh 'ashībennū lāk. wayyāsheb 'eth 'eleph ū-mē'āh hakkeseeph l'immō*. The first note was, as just stated, an addition to the end of *v. 2^a*; and the second note a variant to *v. 3^a* (*4^a*) in a more explicit form. When this latter marginal variant had taken the place of the original in the text (*3^a*), and the original had been relegated to the margin, the two notes in the margin then read *we'attāh 'ashībennū lāk. wayyāsheb 'eth hakkeseeph*

l'immō. Eventually these two notes found their way into the text at the end of *v.* 3 and the beginning of *v.* 4.

Verses 4^b-5 are smooth and quite correct as they stand. There is no need to insert בנה after *mīkāh* in *v.* 5^a, as Budde and Nowack propose. *V.* 6 is, of course, a later explanatory addition. In *v.* 7 *mibbēth lehem y'hūdāh mimishpāḥath y'hūdāh* seems tautologous; nevertheless there is no doubt whatever that both descriptions are original. The phrase *wayy'hî n'a'ar mibbēth lehem y'hūdāh* is an exact parallel to *wayy'hî 'îsh mēhar 'ephraïm* in *v.* 1; cf. also 1 Sam. i. 1, etc.; and for the collocation of *mishpāḥā* with a name of a place cf. xviii. 2, below. Again, *mimishpāḥath y'hūdāh* cannot be a gloss, for, as Moore points out (p. 383), no scribe would have ventured to represent a Levite as a member of a lay tribe. The tautology of the double description is also found in Judges xiii. 2. It sounds harsh here only because of the inevitable repetition of the name *y'hūdāh*. The last clause of *v.* 7 (*w'hî gār shām*) is probably a gloss, and is intended to remove the impression that a Judahite could also be a Levite. The glossator explains that the Levite was a Judahite only by adoption.⁴ Verses 8-10^a are in their original form. *V.* 10^b, *wayyēlek hallēvî*, is a corrupt dittograph of the following *wayyô'ēl hallēvî* in *v.* 11. Verses 11-12 describe the stages by which the stranger became installed as a priest. He was first admitted as a member of Micah's household (*v.* 11). Having proved himself trustworthy, he was installed as priest (*v.* 12^a), and became a member of Micah's settlement (= *bēth mīkāh*, *v.* 12^b; cf. xviii. 13, 14, 15, 22).

Ch. xviii. *v.* 1^a, is a gloss, like xvii. 6. *V.* 1^{bβ} (*kî lô . . .*) is considered by Moore as a gloss, but without it the preceding

⁴ Cf. the somewhat similar explanation in 2 Sam. iv. 2, as to how the Beerothites, who were probably Hivvites (Josh. ix. 7, 17), came to be described as Benjamites: *kî gam be'erôth tēhāshēb . . .* Cf. the writer's "Studies in the Books of Samuel," *Jewish Quarterly Review* (new series), VIII., pp. 98-99.

clause *v. 1^b* (*û-bayyāmîm . . lāshebeth*) remains rather abrupt. Moreover, it is extremely improbable that a glossator would have inserted a statement which is in flagrant contradiction with a number of passages in the Book of Joshua (*cf.* Josh. xiii. 7; xix. 40-48; xxiii. 4). In *v. 2^a* *mikk̄sôthām 'anāshîm* is a variant of *mimmishpahtām hamishshāh 'anāshîm* in the same verse. So in *v. 3^b* *û-māh l'kā pōh* is probably a variant of the preceding equivalent clause *û-māh 'attāh 'ôsēh bāzēh*, and in *v. 7* *yōshebeth lābetah k'mishpaṭ ṣḏōnîm*, a variant of the following phrase *shōkēt û-bōtēah*. *Maklîm* in the same verse is most probably, as Bertheau and Budde suggest, a corruption of *maḥsôr* as in *v. 10*. *Yôrēsh 'eṣer* I take to be a corrupt dittograph of *'asher bā'āreṣ*. It is, of course, a gloss on *bā'āreṣ* in the text, derived from the end of *v. 10^b*. This latter clause (*mākôm . . . bā'āreṣ*, *v. 10^b*) I also regard as a gloss derived from *v. 7*: *we'ên maklîm (= maḥsôr)*. Its purpose is to bring the actual report of the spies into closer agreement with the account of their original observation in *v. 7*. The whole statement in *v. 10^b* is not only in the wrong place, but also unnecessary after the statement *w'hinnēh tōbāh m'ōd* in *v. 9^a*. Kittel's proposal in his *Biblia Hebraica* to transpose *v. 10^b* to the end of *v. 9* cannot be entertained. First, because there is no reason why this transposition should have taken place, and secondly, because the use in the same verse of *hā'āreṣ* for a particular *land* and for *earth* would produce a certain harshness. It is also doubtful whether the original narrator would have described *hā'āreṣ* as *mākôm*. In *v. 11* *miṣṣor'ah û-me'eshtā'ol* is a gloss derived from *v. 2*. *V. 12^b* is a later addition. In *v. 14* *layish* is a gloss from *v. 7*. *V. 16^b* is an explanatory gloss on *w'shēsh mē'ōth 'ish* at the beginning of the verse.

The best solution of the problem presented by *v. 17* is to regard the whole verse as an intrusion into the text. The verse consists of a series of doublets which were combined

to form a more or less coherent sentence. Thus, *wayya'alû . . . hā'āreš* is a dittograph of the first part of *v. 14*: *wayya'anû . . . hā'āreš*, with the change in the first word of *n* into *l*. *bā'û . . . hammassēkāh w'hakkōhēn* is a doublet of *v. 18*: [*w'ēlleh*] *bā'û . . . hakkōhēn*; while *niššāb . . . k'lē hammilhāmāh* is a doublet of *v. 16^a*. We shall meet with a somewhat similar process in the formation of a new verse below in *v. 31⁵*. By the elimination of this troublesome intrusion we obtain a perfectly reasonable account of the occurrence. The five spies turn in to visit their old acquaintance, the Levite (*v. 15*). While the 600 warriors remain outside standing at the gate fully armed to meet any eventuality (*v. 16*), the former (= *w'ēlleh*, *v. 16*, *viz.*, the five spies) go into "Beth Micah," and take possession of the *sacra*. It must be assumed that the priest had accompanied them to the sanctuary, perhaps under the impression that they wanted another oracle. No doubt his house was attached to the sanctuary. When asked by the spies to accompany them as their priest (*v. 19*), he readily consents, and himself takes the sacred objects, and joins the crowd of emigrants (*v. 20*). As stated above, we must read in *vv. 18, 20*, *'eth hā'ēphōd w'eth hatt'rāphīm w'eth happesel w'eth hammassēkāh*, as in *v. 14*. In *v. 28* *w'hî . . . r'hōb* is an explanatory addition. The original writer would have given this geographical description immediately with the first mention of Laish in *v. 7*. In like manner we must eliminate *v. 29^b* as a gloss; *cf.* Gen. xxviii. 19, and Moore, p. 399.

I have already referred above to the difficulty presented by *v. 31*. The act of setting up the *pesel* could not have lasted "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh." The whole verse must be regarded as a combination of two variant readings on *v. 30*. *V. 31^a* is a variant of *v. 30^a*, while *v. 31^b* is

⁵ Another example of stray phrases being combined to form a new verse is found in 2 Sam. i. 25, which is derived from *vv. 19^b, 26, and 27*. See the writer's "Studies in the Books of Samuel," *op. cit.*, V., p. 204.

a variant of *v. 30^{bβ}*: 'ad yôm g'lóth hā'āreṣ. These two clauses of *v. 31* stood originally in the margin. The full text of this verse, which was intended by the glossator to supersede *v. 30*, was as follows: וְיִשְׁמְרוּ לָהֶם אֶת פֶּסֶל מִיִּכָּה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיַּהֲנֹתָן בֶּן גֵּרְשֹׁם בֶּן מֹשֶׁה הוּא וּבָנָיו הָיוּ כֹהֲנִים לְשִׁבְשֵׁב הָדָנִי כָל יְמֵי חַיֵּיהֶם בֵּית אֱלֹהִים בְּשִׁלֹּה בֶּן מֹשֶׁה הוּא וּבָנָיו הָיוּ כֹהֲנִים לְשִׁבְשֵׁב הָדָנִי כָל יְמֵי חַיֵּיהֶם בֵּית אֱלֹהִים בְּשִׁלֹּה

"And they set up for themselves Micah's *pesel* which he had made: and Jehonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses (*Manasseh*), he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh." In this form *v. 31* gives a perfectly logical sense. As to which is the original form of this important statement, whether that of *v. 30* or *v. 31*, there can be no shadow of doubt. The glossatory character of *v. 31* stamps it at once as of a secondary character. Furthermore, the reduction in *v. 31* in the duration of the priesthood of Jehonathan's house evidently represents an attempt to explain why the pious Kings of Israel, like Saul, David and Solomon, had tolerated the idolatrous cult at Dan. The answer given by the variant reading is that the schismatic priesthood and, presumably, its cult lasted only as long as the sanctuary of Shiloh, and had thus ceased to exist long before the rise of the monarchy. In other words, this glossatory version of *v. 30* is equivalent to the glossatory apology in xvii. 6; xviii. 1, "in those days there was no King in Israel," and must belong to the same hand.

THE GOD OF THE WITCHES

By M. A. MURRAY.

IN treating of witches I draw a sharp distinction between Operative and Ritual Witchcraft. Operative Witchcraft consists of charms and spells by which certain effects, good or bad, are produced on animate or inanimate objects; it has not necessarily anything to do with religion and can be practised by the votaries of any religion or by the members of any sect. Ritual Witchcraft, on the other hand, is as clearly defined and organised a method of worship as any other cult, ancient or modern, and may be classed as one of the Religions of the Lower Culture. In some of its aspects it is allied to the cults of Western Asia, and it may prove to be the remains of the same primitive religion from which the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean also derived their cults. In Europe it appears to have been practised among the early dwarf races, who are known later as fairies, brownies, pixies, and so on. Therefore, it is also possible that the people of Western Asia borrowed the cult from Europe, and that a study of this ancient religion, of which very detailed records survive, will throw light on many obscure points of Syrian and Egyptian religions. Hitherto scholars have largely devoted themselves to studying the effect of the East on the West in ancient times, but the effect of the West on the East presents problems of equal interest.

It must be remembered that all the accounts of the witches were written by members of a fiercely hostile religion; there are no records made by the witches them-

selves. To the Christian of a certain type all deities other than the Christian God were devils, all worship other than the Christian was devil-worship. Bearing this in mind, it is easy to understand how Christian recorders came to speak of the witches' god as the Devil, Satan, Beelzebub, Lucifer, and any other epithet by which they could identify him with the Principle of Evil. But this was the opposite of what the witches believed. They looked on him as the creator and giver of life, and he was to them what God and Christ were to the Christian.

Most of our difficulty in realising the cult of the witches is due to the writers on the subject. All the judges who heard the evidence at first-hand had no doubt whatever as to the actuality of the events described. Coke's dictum, that "a witch is a person who has conference with the devil, to take counsel or to do some act," voiced the opinion of the judges in Great Britain and France. At the same time no thinking man could believe in Operative Witchcraft, and various writers gave vent to such opinions. Of these Reginald Scot was one of the most important. Having no other means of disproving the alleged powers of witches, he attacked indiscriminately all statements as to their actions. To him the evidence of eye witnesses and the confession of the accused, that she had met a man in black whom she adored as God, was as incredible as that she had killed a neighbour's child by muttering a spell. He did not get his evidence at first-hand, his quotations from his authorities are often inaccurate, and his attempts to disprove the evidence are not convincing. Though his book, published 1584, marks a distinct epoch in the feeling towards witches, he succeeded in confusing the subject. Later writers who agreed with Scot in his disbelief in the magical powers of witches, but who like him could not account for their categorical statements as to the form of worship that they practised, produced the theory that the witches were either victims of hallucination or victims of persecution, and that

all their judges were actuated by motives of cruelty or prejudice. If, however, we accept the fact that the witches were members of an ancient religion, practising their primitive ritual and carrying on the beliefs of their ancestors, the difficulties of the situation vanish.

In this paper I propose to bring forward some account of this hitherto unrecognised deity, premising that throughout I use the word "witch" in the sense not of enchantress or soothsayer but of the worshipper of a non-Christian God; and using the word "Devil" as connoting that God.

The ecclesiastical laws of Great Britain and France show that the ancient religion survived in sufficient force up to the eleventh century to make enactments against it necessary.¹ As the Church gained in power, the laws increased in stringency, until at last in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by means of the gallows and the stake the last remains of ancient heathenism were crushed. The witches fought the losing battle gallantly; their proselytising campaigns were often well organised, but the weight of civilisation was against their religion and it was destroyed. The accounts of this destruction are preserved in the trials of individual witches, and from this great mass of detailed information the cult and creed can be reconstructed with a good deal of accuracy.

Many of the contemporary writers, who give a general *resumé* of the religion, state in so many words that the witches believed in the divinity of their Master. "The Diuell commaundeth them that they shall acknowledge him for their god, cal vpon him, pray to him, and trust in him.—Then doe they all repeate the othe which they have geuen vnto him, in acknowledging him to be their God."² They "take him for their God, worship, invoke, obey him."³

¹See my paper "Organisations of Witches in Great Britain," in the *Folklore Society's Journal*, 1917.

² 1575. Danæus, *Dialogue of Witches*, ch. ii., ch. iii.

³ 1646. Gaule, *Cases of Conscience*, p. 62.

"Persons who were engaged to the Devil by a precise Contract will allow no other God but him."⁴

Individual witches defined their belief with equal precision. The Aberdeen witch, Marion Grant, was accused of meeting "the Devil whom thou callest thy god, [who] appeared to thee and caused thee to worship him on thy knees as thy lord."⁵ De Lancre, the inquisitor who suppressed the witch religion in the Pays de Labour, gives the formula of the witches' vow of allegiance to their Master, "I place myself at every point in thy power and in thy hands, recognising no other God, for thou art my God."⁶ Margaret Johnson of the second generation of Lancashire witches confessed that "the devil bad her call him by the name of Memillion. And she saith that in all her talke and conference shee called the said Memillion her god."⁷ Rebecca West, an Essex witch "confessed that her mother prayed constantly, (and as the world thought, very seriously), but she said it was to the devil, using these words, *Oh my God, my God*, meaning him and not the LORD."⁸ A certain Isobel Gowdie, of the witch society in Auldearne, near Nairn, made a remarkable confession in which a large amount of detail is given; the confession having been made voluntarily and without torture carries considerable weight. She said, "We get all this power from the Devil; and when we seek it from him, we call him 'our Lord.' . . . At each time, when we would meet with him, we behoved to rise and make our curtsey; and we would say, 'Ye are welcome, our Lord,' and 'How do ye, my Lord.'"⁹ Another Essex witch,

⁴ 1661. Bourignon, *Vie Exterieur*, p. 222; Hale, *Collection of Modern Relations*, p. 37.

⁵ 1596. *Spalding Club Miscellany*, II., pp. 170-2. Spelling modernised.

⁶ 1609. De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges*, p. 398.

⁷ 1633. Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, pp. 347-9.

⁸ 1645. Stearne, *Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft*, pp. 38-9.

⁹ 1662. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, III., 605, 615. Spelling Modernised

Widow Coman, acknowledged that the Devil "was her Master and sat at the right hand of God."¹⁰

The Devil himself impressed the fact of his own divinity upon his followers, especially in his sermons and at the admission ceremonies. "He always tells them he is the true God," and "the devil made them believe he was the true God," says the scandalised de Lancre,¹¹ who is careful to remark that the latter piece of information was given to him by "une tres-belle femme" aged twenty-eight. A few sentences of a Scotch Devil's sermon at Crichton are preserved by Lord Fountainhall; when preaching to the witches the Devil "most blasphemously mocked them, if they offered to trust in God, who left them miserable in the world, and neither he nor his Son Jesus Christ ever appeared to them when they called on him, as he had, who would not cheat them."¹² Here the religious bias of the recorder is clearly shown, but equally clear also is the appeal of witchcraft religion to the ignorant mind. The deity who appeared to his worshippers in visible flesh and blood, who came in bodily form at their call, who provided for their wants with his own hands, who was worshipped with feasting and dancing, who was slain for their sakes before their eyes, was a God whom the followers of the Man of Sorrows found it hard to overcome.

All converts from Christianity renounced in detail their previous beliefs, and dedicated themselves body and soul to their Master; here and hereafter they belonged to him. Many of them went to the stake strong in their faith, dying "stubborn and impenitent," refusing the offer of a Christian heaven, holding fast to the God whom they loved and who told them "that the joy which the witches took in the Sabbath was but the commencement of a much greater

¹⁰ 1699. Gilbert, *Witchcraft in Essex*, p. 2.

¹¹ De Lancre, pp. 399, 401-3.

¹² Lord Fountainhall, *Decisions*, I., 15. Edinburgh, 1759.

glory."¹³ Some idea of their feeling concerning the Sabbath is expressed in the following words: "Elles disoyent franchement, qu'elles y alloient et voyoient toutes ces execrations avec vne volupté admirable, et vn desir enrager d'y aller et d'y estre, trouuant les iours trop reculez de la nuict pour faire le voyage si désiré, et le point ou les heures pour y aller trop lentes, at y estant, trop courtes pour vn si agreable seiour et delicieux amusement."¹⁴ The Christian believed that all worshippers of the Devil went to hell-fire and eternal torment, but to the witches to be with their God was heaven. It is this spirit which de Lancre chronicles when he says, "quand elles sont preuenues de la Iustice, elles ne pleurent et ne iettent vne seule larme, voire leur faux martyre soit de la torture, soit du gibet leur est si plaisant, qu'il tarde à plusieurs qu'elles ne soient executees à mort, et souffrent fort ioyeusement qu'on leur face le procez, tant il leur tarde qu'elles ne soient avec le Diable. Et ne s'impatientent de rien tant en leur prison, que de ce qu'elles ne lui peuuent tesmoigner combien elles souffrent et desirent souffrir pour luy."^{14A}

One of the difficulties which arises in studying this subject is the varying description of their Master given by the witches. The difficulty, however, is more apparent than real. Anyone who examines the evidence is soon aware that this personage was in every case a man. The description, therefore, naturally varies in different places, both as to the man himself and the clothes that he wore. The style of his garments changed according to the place and period. Thus in England he was usually plainly dressed in black; in Scotland he appeared as a Highlander, or in grey with a "blue bonnet," or completely attired in fairies' colour, green. A Belgian Devil was "en pourpoint blanc à la mode française."¹⁵

¹³ De Lancre, p. 126.

¹⁴ *id.*, p. 208.

^{14A} *id.*, p. 133.

¹⁵ 1595. Canaert, *Olim Procès des Sorcières en Belgique*, p. 45.

The evidence points also to his wearing a mask, possibly as a disguise, but possibly also as part of the ritual costume. The mask is never actually mentioned, but its use explains the extraordinary appearance and voice with which the Devil is sometimes credited. Elizabeth Francis's cat-familiar "spoke to her in a strange hollow voice, but such as she understood by use."¹⁶ The German Devils' voices sounded like a man speaking with his head in a cask or pottery vessel, though they sometimes had soft voices.^{16A} The Devil at North Berwick was "like a meikle black man, with a black beard sticking out like a goat's beard, and a high ribbed nose, falling down sharp like the beak of a hawk."¹⁷ This is clearly a mask, and the description of the same personage by another witch indicates not only a mask over the face but a disguise of the whole person: "He caused all the company to com and kiss his ers, quhilk they said was cauld lyk yce; his body was hard lyk yrn, as they thocht that handled him; his faice was terrible, his noise lyk the bek of an eagle, great bournig eyn; his handis and legis were herry, with clawis upon his handis, and feit lyk the griffon; and spake with a how voice."¹⁸ The witches in the Lyons district also noted the sound of the Devil's voice: "On a demandé à George Gandillon, si lors qu'il fut sollicité par Satan de se bailler à luy, Satan parloit distinctement. Il respondit que non, et qu' à peine pouuoit il comprendre ce qu'il disoit."¹⁹ The Devil of the Pays de Labour had "la voix effroyable et sans ton, quand il parle on diroit que c'est vn mullet qui se met à braire, il a la voix cassee, la parole mal articulée, et peu intelligible, parce qu'il a tousiours la voix triste et

¹⁶ 1556. "Examination of certain Witches at Chelmsford," p. 25. Philobiblon Society, vol. VIII.

^{16A} 1589. Remigius, *Demonolatria*, pt. I., ch. viii., p. 38.

¹⁷ 1590. Pitcairn, I., pt. iii., p. 246.

¹⁸ Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 395.

¹⁹ 1608. Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, pp. 56-7.

enroüee."²⁰ The Huntingdonshire Devil was said by a witch to speak to her "like a man, but as he had been some distance from her when he was with her;"^{20A} one of the Suffolk Devils had "a hollow, shrill voyce;"²¹ the Somerset Devil spoke "low but big;"^{21A} and the Renfrewshire Devil's voice was "hough and goustie."²²

The fact that the Devil was masked and in disguise will account also for the descriptions of his animal forms. In England and Scotland he appeared occasionally as a dog, a deer, a horse, a bull, and a cat; the last is sometimes called a lion, probably because of its size. In France, the goat was the commonest disguise; it is always said to be huge, as it would naturally be if it were a man in a goat-skin, and it was said to speak like a person. On its head were horns, generally three, sometimes four or even eight; between the horns was the sacred fire from which the witches lit their torches and candles. He was literally the God of light from whom his worshippers obtained light, and the name of Lucifer was singularly appropriate. As the Sabbaths were held in the darkest hours of the night, the sight of the incarnate God from whose head issued rays of splendour must have been very impressive. To his followers he was truly "a burning and a shining light."

The Devil sometimes donned or doffed the disguise in the presence of his worshippers. Janet Watson of Dalkeith²³ and Margaret Hamilton of Borrowstowness²⁴ both acknowledged that the Devil came to them in human form and went away as a black dog. Helen Guthrie of Forfar described a scene in which "the devil was there present

²⁰ 1609. De Lancre, p. 398.

^{20A} 1648. Stearne, p. 13.

²¹ *id.*, p. 22.

^{21A} 1665. Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pt. ii., p. 165.

²² 1678. *id.*, p. 295.

²³ 1661. Pitcairn, III., p. 601.

²⁴ 1679. *Scots Magazine*, 1814, p. 201.

with them all in the shape of a great horse," but he was in the shape of a man when they returned.²⁵ The ritual masquerade is clearly manifest in the descriptions of the Devil of the Pays de Labour; "le diable estoit en forme de bouc, ayant vne queue, audessous vn visage d'homme noir . . . et n' a parole de ce visage de derriere;"²⁶ and he was also seen as a man with a face in front and a face at the back of the head like "le dieu Janus."²⁷

Ritual masking is so well known in both the East and the West as to call for no comment here. The earliest example with which I am acquainted is from Egypt,²⁸ and represents a man wearing a jackal's head and tail, standing among wild animals and playing on a pipe. This is on one of the carved slate palettes which belong to the first dynasty or earlier. The similarity of this figure with the God of the witches, as described by the witches themselves, lies not only in the animal disguise but also in the musical instrument used, the Devil being always said to play on the pipe.²⁹ The latest form of the mask survived in this country till within a few years ago as the "Dorset Ooser," a wooden mask with bull's horns; the wearer was wrapped in an ox-skin,³⁰ and apparently represented an animal.

The reason for the animal mask will be found when taken in connection with one of the chief features of the witch ritual, namely, the dance. Throughout the world dancing is practised as an act of worship. The two main forms are the victim-dance and the fertility-dance. In the

²⁵ 1661. Kinloch and Baxter, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Scoticæ*, pp. 122-3.

²⁶ 1609. De Lancre, p. 126.

²⁷ *id.*, p. 68.

²⁸ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, II., pl. xxviii.

²⁹ Petrie has shown (*Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 26 seq.) that the art of these carved palettes was not indigenous in Egypt, but was brought in from the north. It is possible therefore that the figures of men with animal heads, so common in the religious sculptures of Egypt, were the artistic representation of a religion which also had a foreign origin.

³⁰ Elsworthy, *Horns of Honour*, p. 139, fig. 65.

victim-dance the victim stands in the middle, while the worshippers move round him in a ring. The fertility-dance is sometimes very complicated; and the dancers, or at any rate their leader, imitate the actions, or are disguised in the likeness, of the animal whose increase is desired.

Fertility-dances of this kind can still be found in out-of-the-way parts of Europe. At Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port in the Basque country, in the very neighbourhood where de Lancre suppressed the witch-religion, the Samalsain, or Horse dance, is still performed. The leader rides on a hobby-horse, and is surrounded by attendants who are called "Satans." The dance, which is very elaborate, represents the sacrifice of the leader for the sake of fertility.³¹ This dance is interesting in connection with the witch cult when one remembers that in France and Great Britain the Devil continually appeared as a horse or riding on a horse. And it becomes still more interesting when one remembers also that it was in that south-west region of France that the wild horse was killed for food by palæolithic man, who used magic to increase his food supply.

The circular dance is now confined chiefly to children's games in Western Europe, but originally it had a grim significance for the "It" who stood in the middle; he was the destined victim, and his death was often by fire. This was the case in the witch cult, where the victim was that "God incarnate, man divine," whom the Christians stigmatised as the Devil. The detailed accounts of the sacrifice are from French and Belgian sources. In each instance the Devil was in animal form; a fact which suggests that, by the time the details of the religion were recorded, the sacrifice of an animal had been substituted for that of a man. The two great French authorities, Boguet and Bodin, who derived their knowledge at first-hand from the witches themselves, describe the scene.

³¹ Moret, *Mystères Egyptiens*, p. 247 seq. See also Elsworthy for the connection of the hobby-horse with the Devil.

Boguet says that at the Sabbath the mass was celebrated, and then "Satan apres auoir prins la figure d'un Bouc, se consume en feu, et reduit en cendre, laquelle les Sorciers recueillent, et cachent pour s'en seruir à l'exécution de leurs dessins pernicieux et abominables."³² Bodin enters into more detail: "Là se trouuoit vn grand bouc noir, qui parloit comme vne personne aux assistans, et dansoyent à l'entour du bouc: puis vn chacun luy baisoit le derriere avec vne chandelle ardente: et cela faict, le bouc se consummoit en feu, et de la cendre chacun en prenoit pour faire mourir. . . Et en fin le Diable leur disoit d'une voix terrible des mots, Vengez vous ou vous mourirez."³³ Madame Bourignon's girls had the same story, "They adored a beast with which they committed infamous things, and then at last they burnt it; and everyone took up some of the Ashes, with the which they made Men and Beasts to languish and die."³⁴ Claire Goessen, a Belgian witch, gives an eye-witness's evidence of the sacrifice: "Elle s'est laissée transporter . . . à l'assemblée nocturne de Lembeke, où, après la danse, elle a, comme tous les assistans, baisé un bouc à l'endroit de sa queue, lequel bouc fut ensuite brûlé et ses cendres distribuées et emportées par les convives."³⁵ The "pernicious and abominable designs" would be, in modern parlance, "magical practices;" and as the witches were considered to have power to produce as well as to blast fertility, it is very probable that originally the ashes of the victim were used, like the ashes of harvest sacrifices in so-called savage countries, to strew on the fields to ensure a good crop.

In France the circular dance is said to have been usually round the Devil, who stood or sat in the middle; but in Great Britain, where by the time the records were made the

³² Boguet, p. 141.

³³ Bodin, *Fléau des Demons*, pp. 187-8.

³⁴ Bourignon, *Parole de Dieu*, p. 87; Hale, p. 26.

³⁵ Cannaert, p. 50.

sacrifice had become merely traditional, the dances were round a stone or other inanimate object. The sacrifice of the Devil in England and Scotland was not by fire, but by some means not particularised which caused the blood to be shed; the date of the sacrifice was traditionally the May-Eve Sabbath, and it was said to be performed by the fairies. "Every seven years the elves and fairies pay kane, or make an offering of one of their children to the grand enemy of salvation, and they are permitted to purloin one of the children of men to present to the fiend; a more acceptable offering, I'll warrant, than one of their own infernal brood that are Satan's sib allies, and drink a drop of the deil's blood every May morning."³⁶ A popular rhyme preserves the same tradition in Yorkshire:—

Half a brock and half a toad, half a yellow yawlin,
Drink a drop of Devil's blood ev'ry May mornin'.

The circular dance round a central personage is the most ancient of any dance of which we have records. A representation of such a dance occurs among the palæolithic paintings at Cogul in Spain, where a group of women are shown moving round a male figure who stands in the middle.³⁷ The scene and the central figure are such as are described by the witches, especially those from the Basque country.

The reference to a two-faced deity opens up another line of research, for such a god seems to be purely European. A two-headed god is found in Egypt as early as the nineteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1300, but the two-faced god does not occur there till the Roman period and is then distinctly of foreign introduction. De Lancre suggests the likeness to Janus, and the attributes of that god confirm the suggestion. Janus as Clusivius and Patulcius, the Opener and Closer (*i.e.*, of the womb) is clearly a god of fertility,³⁸

³⁶ Cunningham, *Traditional Tales of the English and Scottish Peasantry*, p. 251.

³⁷ Spearing, *The Childhood of Art*, fig. 73.

³⁸ Roscher, *Lexikon*: "Ianus."

as the god of beginnings he was also the god of birth, and as the deity invoked by the Salian priests in the Lupercalia he again presided over human fertility. At the same time he was patron of cross-roads, and this suggests another connection with the witch-cult, for one of the regular meeting-places of witches was at the cross-roads in the middle of, or just outside, a village. Why cross-roads should be chosen for these meetings, and why also they should be credited with magical properties, is not clear. As early as the time of Ezekiel (xxi. 21) they were looked upon as places of divination, and the witches were essentially diviners. The superstitious dread of cross-roads, which is still to be found in England, is generally regarded as the horror caused by the burial of suicides at the spot, but it may equally well be due to a folk-memory of the ancient heathen rites practised in those places.

There is a considerable amount of evidence indicating a close connection between witches and fairies. By fairies I mean that dwarf race which appears to have inhabited Western Europe at an early period. Mac Ritchie in his *Testimony of Tradition* has brought forward proofs that the legends of fairies, elves, brownies, and dwarfs, preserve many real facts concerning the race. He shows that they were a small people, living in underground dwellings to which they took the women and children of the "upper world;" they were skilled workers in stone and metal, and they danced circular dances to music on heaths and other open spaces, especially on May-Eve and Allhallow-Eve. Many of the witches encountered fairies, and their accounts tally to a great extent with the stories of the Little People. The Devil was of great importance among the fairies, he had the right of entry into the fairy mounds, the Queen of Elfin was often seen in his company, and in the old ballads he is said to have claimed a human sacrifice every seven years from the fairies. John Walsh, a witch of Dorset, acknowledged that he obtained his magical

powers of diagnosing diseases from the fairies, of whom "ther be iii. kindes, white, greene, and black."³⁹ Bessie Dunlop of Lyne in Ayrshire had a visit from the Queen of Elfame, "a stout woman, who sat down and asked for a drink." Later, the Queen sent a man called Thom Reid to Bessie. This Thom Reid, though never spoken of as the Devil, had all the characteristics of that personage, and Bessie was condemned and executed for having "conference" with him "to take counsel or to do some act," as Coke puts it. Thom Reid on one occasion introduced her to "the good witches from the court of Elfame."⁴⁰ Alison Peirson of Byrehill in Fifeshire was accused "for haunting and repairing with the good neighbours and Queen of Elfame, these divers years bypast, as she had confesst by her dispositions, declaring that she could not say readily how long she was with them; and that she had friends at that court which was of her own blood, who had good acquaintance of the Queen of Elphane."⁴¹ Andro Man of Aberdeen actually had children by the Queen of Elfin. He believed "the devil thy master, whom thou terms ChristSunday to be an angel and God's godson, albeit he has a thraw by God, and sways to the Cuen of Elphin.—Thou affirms that the Queen of Elphin has a grip of all the craft, but ChristSunday is the goodman, and has all power under God."⁴² Isobel Gowdie had a great deal of information, but unfortunately the recorder thought her statements irrelevant and therefore cut short the evidence with a curt "etc." "The Qwein of Fearrie is brawlie clothed in whyt linens, and in whyt and browne cloathes, etc; and the King of Fearrie is a braw man, weill favoured, and broad faced, etc. Ther wes elf-bullis rowtting and skoylling wp and downe thair, which affrighted me." This account makes

³⁹ 1566. *Examination of John Walsh.*

⁴⁰ 1576. Pitcairn, I., pt. ii., pp. 51-6.

⁴¹ 1588. Pitcairn, I., pt. iii., p. 162. Spelling modernised.

⁴² 1597. Burton, *Criminal Trials*, I., p. 253.

it clear that the King of Faery and the Devil were two distinct persons, for the Devil whom Isobel knew was "a meikle, black, roch man." It is interesting to note that Isobel did not apparently look upon the fairy king and queen as in any way supernatural, nor was she in the least alarmed at entering the fairy mound, though she had a very natural fear of the savage bulls at the entrance.⁴³ The dances of the witches are described by Boguet, "estans telles danses semblables à celles des Fees, vrais Diables incorporez, qui regnoient il n'y a pas long temps."⁴⁴ Witches and fairies are often confounded; even the witches of Macbeth are spoken of as fairies,⁴⁵ and a modern writer on Basque stories says, "In these stories it is evident that the witch is often a fairy, and the fairy a witch."⁴⁶

To bring forward all the evidence of identification of fairies and witches would take too long, but sufficient has been given to show that there is more than a possibility, there is an actual probability, that in the witch cult we catch glimpses of the religion practised by one of the earliest races of Western Europe. The dwarf peoples were conquered by incoming nations, and were either driven into mountain-fastnesses and the ice-bound North, or they remained more or less in hiding in their original habitats. On the introduction, first of the Roman religion, then of the Christian—both with higher ideals and ethics than the primitive cult—the ancient religion lost its power, and in the end we find it practised by the more ignorant, though not necessarily the lower, classes of the community.

Though the dwarf race does not seem to be known in Western Asia, there are traces of the witch cult in that region. Of these the most important are the sacrifice of the God, and the fertility and rain-making rites. I have not

⁴³ 1662. Pitcairn, III., pp. 604, 607, 611.

⁴⁴ Boguet, p. 132.

⁴⁵ Holinshed, *Chronicle of Scotland*, p. 171.

⁴⁶ Wentworth Webster, *Basque Legends*, p. 49, ed. 1877.

entered into particulars of the two last as they do not come within the scope of this article, but no one can study the witch-trials without realising the similarity of the witches to the sacred men and women of the Near East and India; of the witches' fertility rites to the religious orgies of ancient Greece and Syria; and of their rain and storm-making ceremonies to similar ceremonies in the Eastern Mediterranean lands.

It may be objected that these customs are common throughout the world and therefore show no real connection between Western Europe and Western Asia. This is possible; but as there are many small points of similarity—details which could hardly have arisen spontaneously in two separate countries—the objection does not hold good. I will mention only two. Converts from Islam to the witch cult renounced their previous religion as did the converts from Christianity. "As our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despite his sacraments: so do the other forsake Mahomet, and his lawes."⁴⁷ Riding on sticks, both on the ground and in the air, was another point of similarity. "In the time of Ibn Munkidh the witches rode about naked on a stick between the graves of the cemetery of Shaizar. Similarly they still ride by night on palm sticks through the air, having stripped themselves stark naked, smeared their bodies with cow's milk, and abjured Islam in a formula of renunciation."⁴⁸ The riding on sticks in the cemetery closely resembles the actions of the Aberdeen witches, who "all dansit a devilische danse, rydand on treis, be a lang space."⁴⁹

On the other hand the influence of East on West is seen in some of the words. The name of the Great Assemblies

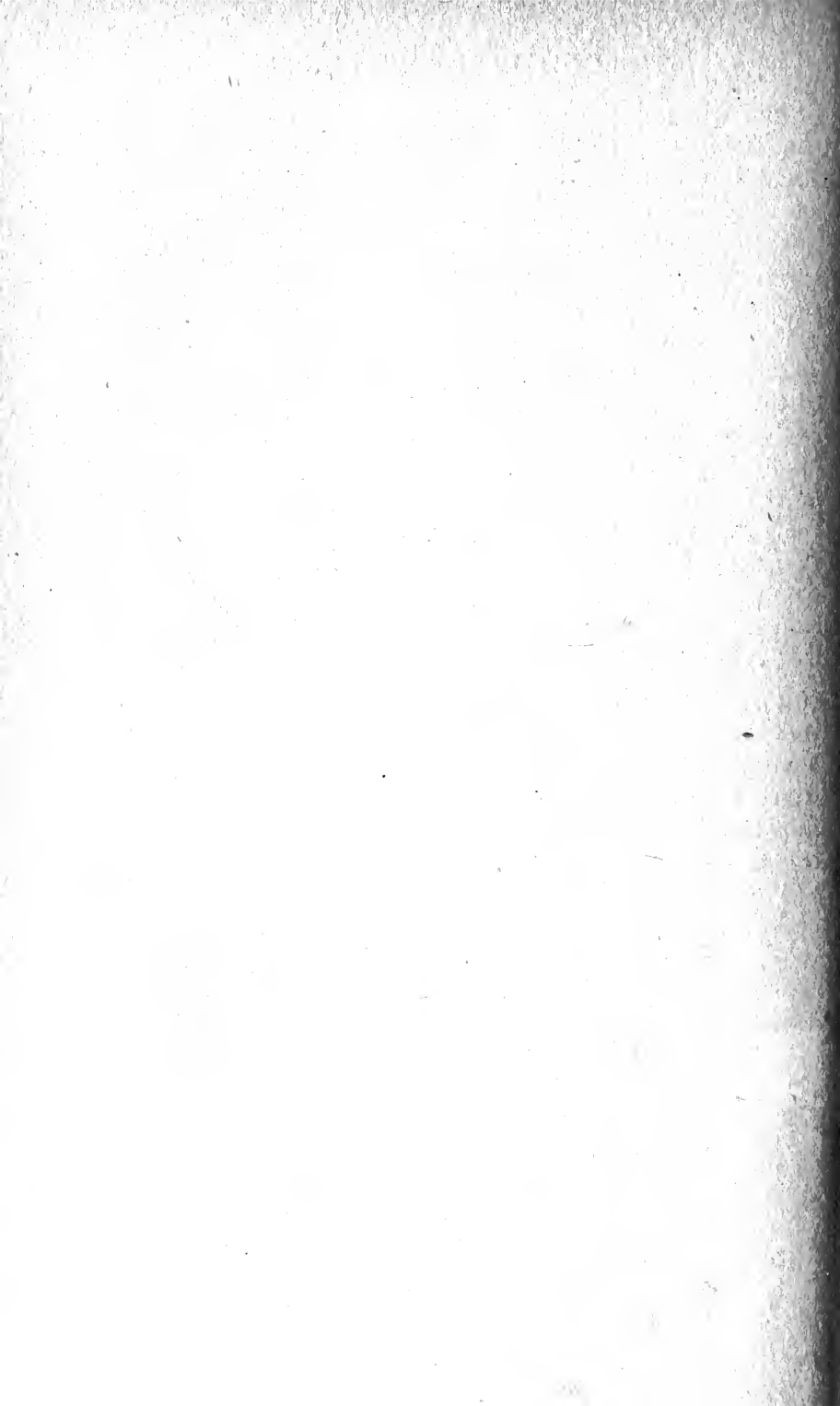
⁴⁷ Reginald Scot, Bk. XVI., ch. 3; also Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, II., p. 106-7.

⁴⁸ Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidenthums*, p. 159; Doughty, II., p. 106.

⁴⁹ 1597. *Spalding Club Miscellany*, I., pp. 164-5, 167.

of the witches, *Sabbath*, suggests an Eastern origin. It cannot be from the same root as the Hebrew word, for the ritual is utterly opposed to the Jewish, and the number seven is of no importance to it, the great festivals being held four times a year, and the local meetings were irregular and not on any fixed day of the week. It is possible that the word originated by metathesis from the old French name for these local meetings, *esbat* "Frolic, sport." But it might also come from Sabazia, the festival of the god Sabazius, which was of the same nature as the orgies of the witches. Another word which shows an East Mediterranean origin was used by the Somerset witches. In the festivals of Dionysos the votaries shouted *εβοι*; at the witch festivals in the marsh country at the mouth of the Severn—festivals which were of the same riotous character as those of Bacchus—the witches shouted the same word, rendered phonetically by the ignorant recorder as "A Boy."

It seems certain then that in this religion, as in others, there was interchange between the East and the West. But having regard to the antiquity of the witch cult in Europe, it seems to me that the balance of evidence is in favour of its originating in the West, and being carried thence to the East.



THE SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

Malachi iii. 20 (iv. 2)

By MAURICE A. CANNEY.

THE Hebrew כַּנָּף, *kānāph*, in the O. T. most often means "wing;" but it means also "extremity," especially in the sense of the "corner" or "skirt" of a garment, and sometimes, in the plural, of the "corners" or "ends" of the earth. In Talmudic Hebrew the word denotes wing, arm, hand, foot, corner or end, and in fact any extremity in animate or inanimate things. In Targumic Aramaic the term (*kenaph*) denotes either wing, the arm or foot (extremity) of the body, or the corner or end of a garment, etc. In the Aramaic Panammu inscription (740 B.C.) כַּנָּף is found with the meaning "corner" or "skirt" of a robe (Mark Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898). The Syriac equivalent (same consonants) means wing, extremity, fringe (of a garment), lap, branch, etc. In the sense of the (four) corners of the earth the Feminine plural of the Hebrew word, *kenāphōth*, is used; in the sense of wings the Dual (masc.), *kēnāphayim* (pair of wings); in the sense of skirts of a garment the Dual (masc.) or apparently the Masculine plural.

Kānāph is used of the loose flowing end or skirt of the outer garment or robe (מַעֲלֵי, *mē'āl*) worn by men of rank (1 Sam. xv. 27, etc.). Another word for the skirts of such a robe is שְׁלִימִים, *shūlīm* (Exod. xxviii. 34, xxxix. 24, Isa. vi. 1, etc.). The Dual or the Plural (masc.) of

כנף (כנפים) denotes the skirts of a garment in Jer. ii. 34, Ezek. v. 3; and in Num. xv. 38 corresponds to the Feminine plural כנפות. *kēnāphoth*, which in Deut. xxii. 12 is used of the (four) ends or corners of the clothing (*kesuth*, lit. "covering"). The Dual (masc.) in the sense of (a pair of) wings is used frequently of birds and of the Cherubim, and sometimes of the Seraphim. Figuratively, God or Yahweh (Jehovah) is represented as a bird (probably an eagle) in the shade or shelter of whose wings men may take refuge (Ruth ii. 12, Ps. xvii. 8, xxxvi. 8, lvii. 2, lxi. 5, lxiii. 8, xci. 4).

The above note is by way of introducing an interpretation of the passage Malachi iii. 20 (iv. 2) which is different from that commonly accepted. Here we read: "But unto you that reverence my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in . . . (Heb. בכנפיה), and ye shall go forth, and gambol as calves of the stall." The Septuagint has "with healing in his wings;" but the Syriac renders "with healing on his tongue" (tongue from the sense of flame probably). The word omitted by me in the translation is rendered usually "in his (lit. her or its) wings." We are told that "the phrase 'in its wings' at once suggests the winged solar disk of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. This representation was doubtless known in Judah at this time, either through borrowing from without or as having been inherited from a remote antiquity in Israel itself as in the rest of the oriental world" (J. M. Powis Smith, *Commentary on the Book of Malachi* in *ICC*; cp. S. R. Driver in the *Century Bible*). It is the purpose of the present writer not indeed to deny the possibility of this explanation, but to point out that it cannot be accepted as unquestionable or unquestioned. One would except other allusions to the wings of the sun. The Hebrews speak of "the wings of the wind" (1 Sam. xxii. 11, Ps. xviii. 10, civ. 3; cp. Hos. iv. 19), a very appropriate figure, but not elsewhere of the wings of

the sun. The nearest parallel seems to be Ps. cxxxix. 9, which Cheyne translates (in the *Dryden Library*), "If I lift up the wings of the dawn, and settle at the farther end of the sea," and explains: if I could fly with the speed with which the dawn spreads over the sky. But the parallel is by no means exact.

My suggestion is that in Malachi iii. 20 (iv. 2) בִּנְפִיָּה *binpīyā* ought perhaps to be translated not "in his (or its) wings," but "in his (or its) skirts." The figure is of the skirts of the glorious robe that flows from the sun (cp. "the robe of righteousness" in Isa. lxi. 10, where *yeshā'*, "salvation," is added as a parallel to *sedākāh*, "righteousness:" "I will greatly rejoice in Yahweh, my soul shall exult in my God, for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation (*yeshā'*), he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness (*mē'āl sedākāh*), as a bridegroom decketh himself priestlike with a garland, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels"). A sudden manifestation of Yahweh's righteousness will dispel the darkness of Israel's afflictions: "the sun of righteousness will arise (shine forth) with healing (salvation) in its train." In the vision of Isaiah (Isa. vi. 1) the prophet sees a manifestation of Adonay (Yahweh), and his loose-flowing skirts (here שְׂוִלִים *shūlīm*) appear to fill the temple. In Psalm civ. 1, 2 Yahweh is depicted as wearing a cloak of light, splendour, and glory (a cloak or robe of righteousness and salvation with which he may clothe also his faithful servants, Isa. lxi. 10): "My soul, bless Jehovah! O Jehovah my God, thou art very great, thou hast robed thee in glory and grandeur. He wraps himself in light as in a mantle, he stretches out the heavens like a tent curtain" (Cheyne's translation in the *Dryden Library*). We may compare with this and with Malachi iii. 20 (iv. 2) the passage in Wisdom v. 6, where we find the expression "the light of righteousness" and where sun is added as a parallel to light: "and the light of righteousness shone not upon us, yea

and the sun rose not for us." In Psalm xix. 4 the sun is said to be like a bridegroom coming forth from his tent or canopy and like a hero rejoicing to run his course.

Thus, even accepting the text as it stands, it is by no means certain that there is any thought of the winged solar disk. But there is still another possibility. P. Riessler (*Die kleinen Propheten*, 1911) suggests that the words **מַרְפֵּא בְּכַנְפֵּיהֶם** are an explanatory gloss which has crept into the text from the margin. *Kenāphêha* is a misunderstanding of an abbreviation for *kenāphayim*, which Riessler translates "brackets" (two wings). The words *mārpe' bi-kenāphayim* are a marginal gloss on **צְדָקָה** (righteousness): "מַרְפֵּא בְּכַנְפֵּיהֶם" in brackets." That such scribal curiosities do appear in the text of the Old Testament is practically certain. In Hosea ix. 13 the scribe seems to have written down some words which he found obscure, for he adds apparently "as I see (it)." Another scribe seems to have added after this the correct text. So again in Joel i. 17 we seem to find an obscure passage to which a later scribe has added the correct text (see J. A. Bewer's Commentary on Joel in *ICC*). In Amos ii. 10 it is possible, as P. Riessler ingeniously conjectures, that the Hebrew for "in the wilderness forty years" ("led you in the wilderness forty years to possess the land of the Amorite") is due to another misunderstanding of an abbreviation in an explanatory note. He suggests that the words denote "Numbers, Deuteronomy:" "led you [Numbers, Deuteronomy] to take possession of the land of the Amorite."

REVIEWS

Egyptian Records of Travel in Western Asia, Vol. II., by David Paton, published by Humphrey Milford on behalf of the Princeton University Press, 1916, pp. 60, 32/6 net.

THE second volume of Mr. Paton's monumental work has now appeared, and the faults and virtues are even more apparent now that there are two volumes in existence than when there was only one. Unfortunately one's first impression is confirmed, which is that the cumbersome method of presentation overweights the real value of the work. The time and thought bestowed on the arrangement of each page, not to speak of the care required in the mechanical carrying out of that arrangement, are practically wasted, as the detail is both complicated and overwhelming. No one will take the trouble to use the transliteration with its complexity of numerals and brackets. To compile that column was labour wasted, and labour too of no mean order. Specialist books of reference to be of real value should be simplified as much as possible, and it is just here that Mr. Paton fails. The introduction to each inscription, giving every publication of the text, is extremely valuable; and the geographical names placed in the margin at the side of the text conduce to ease of reference; but beyond this the book is a monument of untiring labour and patient accuracy which, though beyond all praise, is not suited to a student's needs. The absence of the hieroglyphs is a serious loss. As the whole book is reproduced by photography, it would have been possible to write the hieroglyphs—as in Erman's *Chrestomathie*—and then have them photographed down to the scale required. Such a

method would have made the book more complete, and rendered the student independent of the other publications which he is now obliged to consult every time he wishes to refer to a geographical detail. Seeing the reputation for extraordinary accuracy which Mr. Paton has made for himself in these volumes, it is certain that any text published by him in this way could be used with perfect confidence, and all students realise the importance of a good text. It is to American scholarship that we look for accuracy in details, and here Mr. Paton will never fail.

M. A. MURRAY.

Manual of a Mystic. Being a Translation from the Pali and Sinhalese work entitled "The Yogāvachara's Manual," by F. L. Woodward, M.A. Edited, with Introductory Essay, by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Published for the Pali Text Society by Humphrey Milford, 1916, pp. xix., 159, 5/- net.

THIS is a very interesting addition to the literature of the Pali Text Society, as well as to the literature in general of mysticism and of what more or less corresponds to it. The first Singhalese manuscript of the *Yogāvachara* printed in European characters was edited for the Pali Text Society and published in 1896. In his Introduction to the text, Professor Rhys Davids wrote: "There is little doubt as to the great interest and importance, both from the historical and from the psychological point of view, of the subject treated in this manual. We have no other work in Buddhist literature, either Pali or Sanskrit, devoted to the details of Jhāna and Samādhi."

The Manual gives no indication as to the date of its composition, but Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, who contributes an Appendix to the Translation, thinks that to judge from its Sinhalese passages, it is a work of the eighteenth century.

As such, "it affords interesting evidence of one phase of religious activity, resulting from the reforming labours, during this period, of Pindapātika Saranaṅkara, the last of the Sangharājas. The Siamese monks who came over to Ceylon about, or shortly before, this period would seem to have had a hand in the revival and encouragement of *samādhi* meditation. The manual can hardly have been composed at an earlier period, that is to say, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, for at that time Buddhism in Ceylon was sadly decadent, and presumably *samādhi* and *jhāna* were little practised among the monks.

Mrs. Rhys Davids in her valuable introductory essay points out that there is no Pali equivalent for "mystic," and that the term "mysticism" does not occur at all in the Manual. But "in that this Manual shows a belief in the possibility of inducing abnormal, ecstatic consciousness by method and effort, instead of leaving such visitations to possible but unsought conjunctures, it merits the name of 'mystic.'" The collective name used by the Buddhists for such studies is *samādhi*, a term which means literally "collective, or continual fitting together," and is defined exegetically as "right (*sammā*) placing of consciousness on object."

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

Owen Charles Whitehouse, by Miss Whitehouse, Cambridge, Heffer & Sons, 1916, pp. x., 188, 3/- net.

THIS little volume gives an account of one of the greatest Old Testament scholars of our time; it was worse than a misfortune that he was never given an opportunity to make full use of his exceptional gifts and attainments. He is best known by his translation of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*; though he also did much other valuable and scholarly work, notably contributions to Bible

Dictionaries, etc. His *Schrader* was not a mere translation; it included important notes and additions of his own. There are an appreciation by Mr. Stanley Cook and a bibliography which indicates the extent and character of Dr. Whitehouse's contributions to the literature of his subject. Dr. Andrews adds an interesting account of his "Religious Faith."

He exercised a gracious and helpful influence over many generations of Cheshunt students, and his friendship was of inestimable value to those who had the privilege of knowing him personally. As Mr. Cook writes: "His life, like his courtly and kindly demeanour to all who had the privilege of knowing him, manifested the Christian, the gentleman, and the scholar."

Miss Whitehouse has done her work well; those who knew Dr. Whitehouse will prize a memoir which recalls vividly his attractive personality, and others will be glad to make his acquaintance in this way.

W. H. BENNETT.

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" Subscriptions and Small Donations	12 1 10	Balance	20 0 0
" Donation, Mrs. Philip Fletcher	15 13 6		19 3 5
" Society's Share of Proceeds of Sale of Journal, 1912-13	5 0 0		
" Special Grant from Ordinary Funds of Society towards cost of Annual Reports	0 8 1		
	6 0 0		
	£39 3 5		
			£39 3 5

22nd August 1918.

Audited and found correct, F. MELLAND.

REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY

1918



POSITION OF THE SOCIETY

AT END OF SESSION 1917-1918

FIVE meetings were held during the session. Details are given on pp. 10-19.

The attendance was better than in the previous year.

We have sustained a great loss through the death of Mr. George Stephen Woolley, late of Fairhill, Kersal. He was one of the original members of the Manchester Egyptian Association, having been present at the preliminary meeting on 1st October 1906, and after the amalgamation with the Manchester Oriental Society he was a generous supporter of the Publications Fund.

The number of members who have resigned, or allowed their subscriptions to lapse, is five. Among the six new members we may note with special satisfaction the name of Dr. Berlin, who has so kindly delivered before us two delightful addresses. The total number of members is 94.

Amongst the books added to our collection the most important are: *Cambodge, Fêtes Civiles et Religieuses*, by

Adhémard Leclerc ; Prof. Petrie's two new and profusely illustrated volumes, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, and *Weapons and Tools*. Of the volume on Scarabs we are fortunate enough to possess two copies, one due for our subscription, the other presented by Miss Hewitt, of High Street. Mr. Ling Roth has given us Prof. Petrie's volumes, *Koptos* and *Naqada and Ballas*. The last is out of print and is valued considerably above its published price, so this is a specially valuable gift.

The Balance Sheet of the Society will be found on p. 8.

It will be seen that, considering the war, the finances are in a satisfactory state. Up to this year, the Report and Journal have been printed entirely from the sum derived from the subscriptions and donations of Journal members. It is felt, however, that as the ordinary members (those subscribing 5s. only) have received a Report each year, it is fair that the cost of the Report should be defrayed from the ordinary funds of the Society, and the Council have, therefore, sanctioned a transference of £6 from this source to the Publications Fund.

Mrs. Philip Fletcher has repeated her kind donation of £5, and this enables us to publish this Report and Journal without misgiving.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1917-1918

THE Annual Meeting and **First Meeting** of the new Session was held at the University on October 1st, the Bishop of Salford in the chair. Before proceeding to ordinary business, the Bishop of Salford moved from the chair a vote of condolence on the death of Dr. James Hope Moulton, late President of the Society. As an Iranian scholar and expert, Dr. Casartelli spoke particularly of the great loss to Iranian scholarship.

Professor A. S. Peake, in seconding the vote, referred specially to Dr. Moulton's brilliant achievements in the field of study of New Testament Greek. By the death of Dr. Moulton the Society had lost a scholar of the greatest distinction, a supporter of great enthusiasm, and a friend of charming personality. The Meeting next proceeded to elect or re-elect officers. The Bishop of Salford was re-elected President; Professor Maurice A. Canney, Editor-Secretary, and Miss W. M. Crompton, Treasurer-Secretary. Miss Crompton, when called upon to report progress, was able to give an account of the position of the Society which, considering war conditions, was very satisfactory. The President then called upon Professor Flinders Petrie to give his promised lecture on "Scarabs with Designs." The lecturer pointed out that scarabs with designs are more numerous than scarabs with names; but they had never yet been catalogued or discussed seriously as regards their meaning, etc. When we seek to discover their meaning, we may well look to the scarabs with inscriptions for a clue. Do these suggest that the scarabs were used for the benefit of the living or the dead? The greater number come from towns (civic scarabs extolling the city). Hundreds are found in Memphis every year. From this we may infer that the scarabs were intended for the use of the living rather than of the dead. The inscriptions which are prayers for children support this inference. Further, no reference is found to scenes in the Book of the Dead. Only a very small percentage of scarabs could by any possibility be explained as for the use of the dead. Thus the scarabs were worn and used by the living like amulets to ensure the protection of the gods. The Egyptians were highly sensitive to beauty of form, and geometrical scarabs with scrolls would seem to have been worn simply as emblems of beauty or fineness. The lecture was illustrated by excellent lantern-slides. First, buttons with designs were shown and explained as the precursors of scarabs with designs. As objects intermediate between buttons and scarabs were shown centre-pieces of necklaces. At the conclusion of the lecture a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Flinders Petrie was proposed

by Professor Maurice A. Canney, and seconded by Professor Arthur S. Peake.

The **Second Meeting** of the Session was held at the University on November 6th, 1917, Professor G. Elliot Smith in the chair. Mr. A. M. Blackman, M.A., gave an address on "The Ceremonies Performed at the Embalming of an Egyptian Mummy." As far as he was aware, only one representation of the actual occurrence of a death has survived among the tomb paintings of Egypt. This is in the Mastaba of Ankhmehor at Saqqara (see Bissing, "Denkmäler Ägyptischer Sculptur," 18 B), and shows the relations in attitudes of frantic grief and the widow fainting. Such scenes recur regularly in modern Egypt at a death or funeral. After the death the body was soon placed in the embalmer's hands, except about the Twenty-first Dynasty, when it was the custom to wait till decomposition had set in, as this facilitated the processes employed at that period. The embalmer's workshop was called "the place of purification of the good house"; more briefly, the "good house" or "the place of purification." The embalming, wrapping, and coffining were religious ceremonies of deep signification, supposed to be the same rites as those originally performed at the funeral of Osiris, and the officiants therein personated the divinities who took part in their institution. The earliest descriptions of these rites known are in the Pyramid Texts of the Sixth Dynasty. The chief officiants were the "sem" priest, two great lectors with three assistants, a chief embalmer with assistants, two female and one male mourner, the latter called the "hau." The "sem" priest and the lectors chanted the formulæ. The chief embalmer or chief lector personated the jackal-headed Anubis, wearing a jackal mask. The subordinates personated the four sons of Horus and the sons of Khen-tikheti; the two female mourners played the parts of Isis and her sister Nepthys.

The chief officiants in the embalmment came to take the corpse to the "house of purification" after it had been placed

in a wooden coffin. This coffin was always taken over a stretch of water, even when this was not in the direct route. The water in question may have been a sacred lake, specially reserved for this and similar religious observances. When taken from the boat the coffin was placed on a couch with the head and legs of a lion, carried by three men. On arrival at the "good house" a sumptuous repast was offered to the deceased; the lector summoned him to the banquet and another officiant, with hand uplifted, offered the meal.

Most of the processes of embalmment appear to have been carried on in a tent adjoining the "good house." On the first day of embalmment a victim was offered—in a fresco in the tomb of Pepyonkh at Meir, a tomb the frescoes of which the lecturer had copied, a slaughtered ox is shown. This tomb contains a very interesting series of scenes depicting the funeral ceremonies. The embalming processes and ceremonies occupied seventy days, and included seventeen processions, at any rate in late times. According to the "Papyrus Rhind" these are on account of the seventeen members of the body of Osiris, and one such procession is depicted in the tomb of Pepyonkh, of the Sixth Dynasty. In another ceremony the mummy took a voyage on a great lake, called the "great lake of Khons." A crocodile or model of a crocodile was made to swim beside the boat, and a model mummy seems to have been put into the water and conveyed to land on the crocodile's back. This symbolised the body of Osiris being taken out of the water by his son Horus who, for the purpose, took the form of a crocodile.

A very common scene on the walls of ancient tomb chapels shows the deceased sitting over a large jar or pan, while two men pour water over him. The water often terminates in the looped cross, the sign of life, or, in the case of kings, it is a stream of alternate symbols of life and happiness outpoured by two gods. Such sprinklings endowed the person affected, whether alive or dead, with fresh supplies of life. The main

object of the ceremonies was the mystical reconstruction or rebirth of the body, and the formulæ show that the washing was often associated with this rebirth. Thus, after washing in the "Fields of Earu" (the Egyptian paradise), the dead person is said to receive his bones, and stretch out his indestructible limbs (Pyramid Texts, 530). The water-pouring of the priests represented a washing believed to be actually performed by the gods in the Fields of Earu for the benefit of the deceased. The same is true of many of the other ceremonies.

Nile water from the first cataract was appointed for the purification ceremony, and was regarded as the vital fluid that had exuded from the body of the once dead, but now living, Osiris. The person or corpse sprinkled was imbued with the nature of the god. Purification may thus be said to have a sacramental meaning. All the materials used in the embalming process had a sacred meaning; they were generally considered exudations from the bodies of the gods, whether materials such as natron and wine, used in washing, or unguents; they endued the deceased with the powers of the gods from whom they emanated. The myrrh or resin with which the head was smeared enabled the soul to come forth from the corpse. One unguent protects the deceased and enables him to go on any road he pleases in any country. Olive oil is the fat of his enemies. Yet others give deceased his feet, and enable him to walk. The bandages are said to be made of fibres from the Fields of Earu. The gold used to gild finger and toe nails is the essence of Ra, the sun god, and Osiris, and enables the deceased to walk in the fields of eternity. It also illuminates the face of the deceased and enables him to breathe. It rejuvenates him, and he can visit the temples and participate in the festivals held there. Our fullest authority is The Ritual of Embalmmnt, preserved in two fragmentary MSS. of the Ptolemaic Age. This papyrus, after detailing the various effects of, and the origin of, these embalming materials, explains their powers further, thus: "They enter into thy legs, adjusting them for thee; thou walkest upon a ground of silver, upon

a floor of gold ; thou walkest upon a pedestal of silver, upon . . . a floor of turquoise ; thou goest to the mansion of the Prince, thou passest on into the chapel in the good days, thou being as the Phoenix. . . . Thou seest thy name in every home, thou seest thy soul (bai) in heaven, thy corpse in the burial vault, thy statues in the temple." The lecturer continued that while it was impossible to speak positively as to the actual inner meaning which the Egyptians attached to these words it appeared to him that these statements apply to some counterpart of the corpse, which was, by means of these rites and formulæ, enabled to enter upon an active existence. The power to visit various temples was clearly not bestowed on the mummy, which lay motionless before the eyes of the chanting officiants. These, as already said, impersonated divinities, but it was thought the gods simultaneously performed the rites in the spirit world, so that it was really they who reconstituted the deceased. This is clear from all texts, even the extremely early formulæ painted on the walls of the Sixth Dynasty pyramids at Saqqara.

The further idea that a counterpart body was thought to be formed by the gods for the spirit world, and that it is to this body, and not to the actual mummy, that the prayers of the embalming ceremonies are applied, certainly helps to make formulæ that would otherwise appear very perplexing much more comprehensible.

The **Third Meeting** of the Session was held at the University on Monday, January 28th, 1918, the Bishop of Salford in the chair. Dr. Berlin lectured on "Three El and Elohim Psalms." The Psalms dealt with were xxix., lviii. and lxxxii., and the lecture was chiefly concerned with the expressions "sons of God" (*bene Elim*) and "gods" (*Elim, Elohim*). At the root of the words for god is the idea of power. Can the words be used also of powerful human beings ("the powers that be")? Or where they denote persons other than God, is it necessary to understand the meaning to be "angels"?

Dr. Berlin gave reasons for thinking that the persons referred to in Psalm lxxxii. must be human judges, and pointed out that in Psalm lviii. this identification is generally admitted. He then sought to interpret the "sons of God" in Psalm xxix. in the same way. The persons referred to are the sons of the mighty, the powerful men on earth, and not, as is often supposed, the angels, God's ministers and worshippers.

The **Fourth Meeting** of the Session was held at the University on February 21st, 1918, Professor Canney in the chair. Mr. I. Wassilevsky gave a very interesting lecture on "Modern Hebrew Poetry." The lecturer explained that when the new love for Zion and the nation awakened in modern times, it introduced a new stream of life in modern Hebrew literature. Then, when Dr. Herzl gave to a hitherto abstract idea a realisable and tangible form in the Zionist movement, the Harp of Israel was tuned anew, with the result that in the last twenty-four years there has arisen a new poetry unknown in the Hebrew language since the Bible, and superior in beauty, strength, and delineation of human passions to the Hebrew poetry of the famous Spanish School of Poets. Putting on one side the minor and younger poets, such as Kotzinelson, Steinberg, Sheimonovitch, Finchman, and Mattas, Mr. Wassilevsky concentrated on the four poets whose position in Hebrew poetry is assured: Bialik, Tschernihovsky, Cohen, and Shnaier, all children of the Russian Ghetto. The first volume of Bialik's works runs into three hundred pages, and contains about one hundred poems of various lengths. He is the most popular and best-loved of modern poets, an artist in every sense of the word, who has the marvellous faculty of imitating the style and utterance of the Prophets. There are many wonderful descriptions of nature in his poems, especially in the poem, "The Dead of the Wilderness." In his longest poem, "The Scroll of Fire," he embraces mystically the long-drawn-out tragedy of the years from the destruction of Jerusalem till the pogroms of 1905. Dr. Saul Tschernihovsky is an epic rather than a lyric poet, the greatest epic poet of

Hebrew literature. While Bialik is primarily Ghetto and then European, Tschernihovsky is European first, and there is hardly a European metre which cannot be found in his poetry. His many songs of nature contain wonderful poetic visions. In his love poems the young delight more in beauty than in morality. His translations into Hebrew include Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha." Jacob Cohen is the poet of the frail and the elegant, and the least popular of the four poets. There is not in him the rent soul of the Ghetto Jew, as in Bialik and Tschernihovsky. Whatever his pain, he buries his distress in his heart, and his past in the dream of the future. He finds in nature light and life and legendary worlds. Shnaier, the poet of the mighty and the sublime, is the youngest of the four. A man of Byronic temperament, he stands, like Byron, a law to himself. His poems on women resemble those of Baudelaire. The poem, "The Song of the Prophet," shows that he understands the spirit of the nation better than Bialik and Tschernihovsky. In his wonderful outburst, "The Middle Ages are Coming," he predicted the present terrible war two or three years before it broke out. He calls upon his own people to be the first to awaken, and bids them not to allow the Gentiles to solve the ancient riddle of the world. He has great faith in humanity, in spite of a great despair; and in his poem, "The Future," he has a vision of the time when men, ceasing to war against one another, will turn their arms against nature and strive against creation. His short lyrics are full of the noise of life, the morning dew, and the freshness of the green world.

The **Fifth Meeting** of the Session was held at the University on May 7th, 1918, the Bishop of Salford in the chair. Professor G. Elliot Smith gave an address on "The Story of the Flood." The Sumerian story of the Flood, he said, which is at least as old as the beginning of the third millennium B.C., was transmitted not merely to Babylonia and Western Asia, but also to Greece and to the uttermost limits of Europe, where it is preserved in the folk-lore of Wales, Scotland,

and Ireland. And in the East it spread not merely to India, the Malay Archipelago and China, but also to Oceania and both North and South America.

Certain trivial and unessential incidents of the narrative crop up again and again throughout this wide domain, and proclaim the fact of the derivation of the common framework of all the versions, directly or indirectly, from one original source. Local circumstances supplied merely the corroborative detail and distinctive embellishments of each particular version. As the late Sir Edward Tylor pointed out, more than fifty years ago, "It lies outside all reasonable probability to suppose such circumstances to have produced the same story in several different places, nor is it very likely that the dim remembrances of a number of local floods should accord in this with the amount of consistency that is found among the flood-traditions of remote regions of the world."

The original story of the Flood was developed as the culmination of a series of legends of the destruction of mankind in which a flood played no part whatever. The attempt to explain its origin from "inferences founded on the observation of certain physical facts" (Sir James Frazer's Huxley Lecture on "Ancient Stories of a Great Flood") ignores the real etiological factors, and as a result only obscures the history of the story's development instead of elucidating it.

In the earliest version, the "Flood" consisted of the blood of a human victim whose throat was cut to provide the elixir of life to rejuvenate the king when his virile powers began to fail. In the next phase mankind as a whole replaced the original victim. In a third phase beer, to which red ochre was added to give it the proper colour as a substitute for blood, was employed in place of actual blood.

Finally the blood-coloured mixture poured out upon the earth from seven thousand vessels was confused with the red waters

of the annual inundation of the Nile. But as the destruction of mankind (which no longer formed a logical part of the story once substitutes were found for human blood) had survived as the central incident of the narrative, the story-teller had to provide an explanation of it. Mankind was being punished for its sins, and instead of the slaughtered men providing the "Flood" of blood, the blood-coloured waters of inundation were represented as inflicting the vengeance of the gods upon man.

The psychological factors involved in the development of the story were discussed, and an explanation was given of the origin of the various incidents with which it was embellished in different countries.¹

¹ See further Professor Elliot Smith's book on this subject, shortly to be issued by the Manchester University Press, under the title *The Story of the Flood*.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ADDED TO THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY SINCE SEPTEMBER 1917

*Books may be borrowed (by members only) by applying to the
Treasurer-Secretary at the Manchester Museum, from
whom also the Catalogue published 1913
may be had, price 3d.*

The Athenæum—

Subject Index to Periodicals—Class List, 1916—Historical, Political and Economic Sciences (including Anthropology and Folk-lore).¹

Biblical Archæology—

Proceedings of Society of, Vols. 1917 and 1918 to date.¹

Egyptian Society of East Anglia—

Report, 1915-1916, 1916-1917, 1917-1918.²

John Rylands' Library—

Bulletin to Date.³

Leclerc, Adhémar—

“Le Cambodge. Fêtes Civiles et Religieuses.”²

Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society—

Journal, 1916-1917.

Musée Guimet—

“Le Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,” Vol. LXXV., nos. 2 and 3. 1917.²

Petrie, W. M. Flinders—

“Koptos,” pp. 28, pls. 38.⁴

“Naqada and Ballas,” pp. 79, pls. 85.⁴

“Scarabs and Cylinders with Names,” pp. 46, pls. 73, indices.⁵

“Tools and Weapons,” pp. 73, pls. 79.⁵

University of Rome—

“Rivista degli Studi Orientali,” Vol. VII., fasc. 3, 1916.²

Wassilevsky, I.—

“Chassidism,” pp. 31.⁶

“Modern Hebrew Literature,” pp. 20.⁶

¹ Presented by the Publishers.

² Exchange.

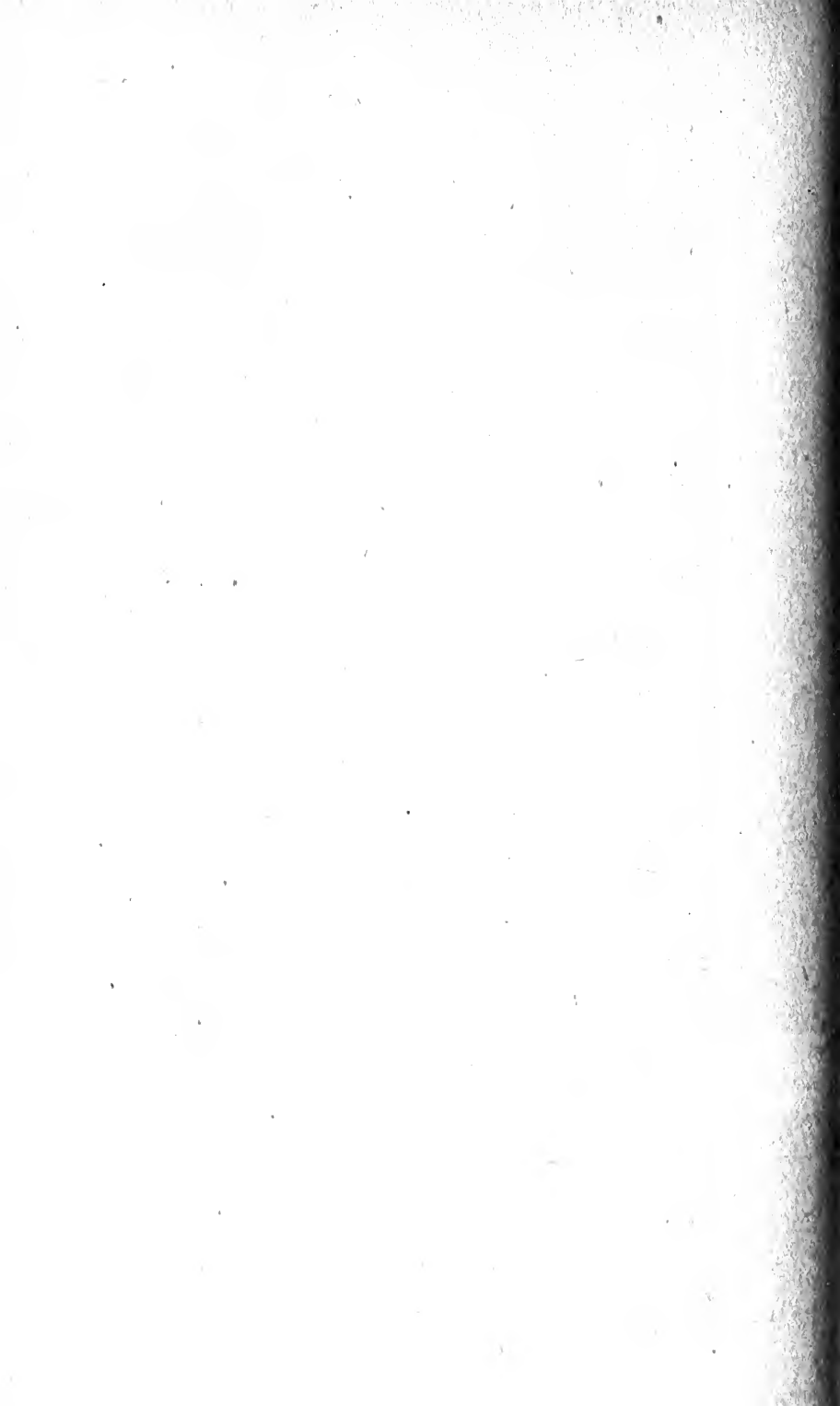
³ Presented by the Governors of the Library.

⁴ Presented by Mr. H. Ling Roth.

⁵ Presented by Miss Hewitt.

⁶ Presented by the Author.

SPECIAL PAPERS
& ARTICLES



THE EARLIEST ARTICULATE CHINESE PHILOSOPHER, KWAN-TSZ

(350 years junior to Solomon, one generation senior to Solon)

By E. H. PARKER.

ALTHOUGH this man was in a sense a reformer, and based his system upon the traditional wisdom of the ancient sages and kings, he seems to be the very first of what may be called the articulate Chinese philosophers, as he is certainly the first to apply clear principles to the definite and practical work of organised government. As Confucius himself frequently speaks of Kwan-tsz with respect, and at the same time with reserve—as though certain defects in his character had to be condoned—this fact both tends to prove that our philosopher's lessons had been circulated over the Chinese federation of states for many generations before Confucius' death in 479 B.C., and also partly explains the circumstance that for two thousand years past all succeeding dynasties have ignored Kwan-tsz from an official point of view, whilst at the same time paying ready attention to the rival claims of Confucius, Laocius and Buddha. In the *Manchester University Review* for July, 1906, the early rivalry of Confucius and Laocius was discussed, with evidences, in a paper entitled "The Parting of the Ways"; but here it may be added that both of these teachers repeat, sometimes in the original words but oftener in modified phraseology, so much of Kwan-tsz's sermonising that it seems quite plain they must have been a casual twain amongst those numerous officials and scholiasts at the various federal capitals who habitually received documents from other courts, including Kwan-tsz's court, to be stowed away for reference in their own local archives: the reasonableness of this suggestion is vouched for by the fact that both Confucius (specifically) and Laocius

(inferentially) declare themselves to be "not originators but transmitters" of thought.

The leading feature in Kwan-tsz as contrasted with Confucius is his insistence upon the supreme rights of the people, and the necessity for the ruling classes to subordinate their personal and family ambitions to popular requirements and approval. For this political reason, apparently, the literary excellences and original expressions only of our philosopher's writings have been transmitted uncensored, so to speak, in thesaurus, dictionary, or encyclopædia; but few if any connected administrative extracts are recorded for reference; few if any compliments are paid by emperors to the man's genius; it would almost seem as though the Government, age by age, has preferred to keep the book and the interpretation thereof in its own hands, just as the interpretation of the Bible as a connected whole is in some Western lands considered safer in the hands of professed priests than left with its occasional surprises to shock the uninstructed imaginations of the *mobile vulgus*. Before recounting the circumstances under which this remarkable adviser of the seventh century before Christ delivered persistent sermons before his reigning lord and master, I propose to take first one specific subject—to wit, the qualities to be aimed at by a prince who really wishes to govern successfully: the words forming each sentence, as the complete sentences themselves, are as nearly as possible literal translations; but they have been rescued from the scattered positions in which they occur and regrouped so as to form an abstract whole, independently of the specific practical matters under discussion or illustration. It is as though one should take a volume of Mr. Gladstone's speeches and excise for regrouping all sentences specifically mentioning parliamentary procedure.

The exclusive prince, like a woman who recommends herself, does not succeed; he must have friends: words and acts that do not bear repetition are out of place in a ruler. Do things

in time, and show good example to those below. Rule depends on other things than killing and punishing, just as security depends upon other things than stone walls and strong positions ; so, again, does wealth depend on other things than mere light taxation. It does less harm to keep back a good man than to promote a bad one ; it is better to starve a horse than to pamper a tiger. On the other hand, a minister must be kind, as well as able ; he should be genial without being obsequious. Good example is the way to attract loyal services. To secure a docile people the fewer demands, ordinances and prohibitions the better—*i.e.* if you desire to succeed and not to provoke antagonism ; at the same time over-tenderness is as much an enemy of the people as system and law are their cherishing parent. A good prince, though above the law, yet lives within his own laws, if only to show a good example ; he knows what is needful and what is harmful : on the other hand, a weak prince is certain to have internal strife to deal with. A good prince should begin step by step and develop *tao*¹ (*i.e.* “ the way ” of nature) in his own person.

On one occasion the reigning prince confessed to Kwan-tsz his personal weaknesses for hunting, strong drink and women ; but the philosopher, whilst, of course, deploring these lapses, distinctly said : Well, well ! Anything but a *weak* prince ! Returning to the main point, he went on to say that it was no duty of a prince to wallow in detail ; he should confine himself to general principles, and must in any case always be clear, remembering at the same time that prince and minister are correlative, the one protecting and the other suggesting ; when due care is taken to define matters with precision, the people will not go wrong in their *tao*. A prince should never attempt to teach his ministers how to conduct their own departments ; it is no business of his to be smart, nor must he allow personal feelings to affect his official judgment. On the other hand, ministers must not meddle with the prince's prerogative :

¹ *Tao* will be specifically treated of in the final pages ; in modern times *tao-têh*—*i.e.* the right way and its effects—is an expression often used to denote “ religion ” or “ right feeling ” of any kind, Christian, Chinese, or other.

distinctions in status should be carefully observed, and thus a good prince connotes good officials; the true *tao* principle governing such matters is that ministers should ascribe any virtue manifested in their own conduct to their immediate liege, just as the vassal prince credits the King (or, later, Emperor), and the King or Son of Heaven in turn credits Heaven; in each case instead of sounding their own commendation. The same principle applies to son and father, and also to ordinary individuals in their attitude towards seniors and governors: the sacred, the successful, and the illustrious rulers of ancient times were, in short, precisely those who best perceived and acted upon this *tao*.

Eavesdroppers and rogues should be kept at a distance, as should females and discarded parasites; also fussy busy-bodies sedulously "carrying out orders," and either getting in bad officers in place of good ones or shifting good ones without cause. The prince and his people may be compared with the heart or mind in relation to the body, the latter receiving the impulses communicated by the former. Blame yourself rather than others when misunderstandings occur, and remember that the common people invariably detect hidden worth in the long run: it is not the mere fact that the people *say* you have faults that creates your existing faults; nor need you ask your own family to corroborate what the people say; thus we see how our kings of old always had a wholesome dread of popular opinion: no man who blames himself as T'ang² did need fear blame by others. There is no such thing as perpetual law and order; it all depends upon whether the rulers are good or bad; if they indulge too freely in gambling, hunting, dalliance, and gadding about, the Government goes awry, and punishments become cruel: good ministers advise for the common weal, and say: Accept me or drop me. Wise action and wise words enrich the State and strengthen its military power. Act boldly in times of peril; even if, on the actual spot or in

² Founder, 1760 B.C., of the dynasty whose royal names have not only been confirmed, but *corrected*, by the bone inscriptions dug up in A.D. 1898 on the actual site of that dynasty's capital.

the ruler's presence you interpose objection and feel bound to disapprove, still you can continue to furnish him with your covert assistance in the background: the main point is to advise firmly and yourself accept responsibility for your royal or princely master's error, as the case may be. Be sparing in eating and drinking. The minister without *tao* is obsequious and office-seeking, just as the good one is quite indifferent in respect to these features of conduct. The corrupt minister uses his influence to traffic in favours; he degrades his office in order to secure riches; he allows all blame to settle on the prince, and, whilst approving to his face, objects or thwarts behind his back: he winks at evil, but is severe with virtue; he indulges in feasting and deep drinking; delights in innovation at the cost of fixed precedent; he consorts with cliques, and leaves his prince to bear all censure unsupported.

The prince may be compared with the heart or mind, and his ministers with the seven (eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and two relief) orifices; if the heart goes *tao*, these all mechanically go *tao* too. *Tao* represents the restful heart or the prince, whilst activity of movement is for ministers, just as it is for horses, birds, etc., employed in service: in a word, exactly as the prince is the heart, so are the eyes and ears the *kwan*³ or "functionaries" of seeing and hearing. But there are many things a good prince must eye warily; for instance, a bad *employé* thinks more of himself than of the State, and he hangs round the ministers ten times for each single time he seeks the ruler's good graces; this feature of private personal interests takes innumerable forms. There should in State matters be no two supreme masters and no two decisive wills; there should be strict loyalty and no chicanery: a good master should beware of "cunning words and smirking faces."⁴ A parasite ruler is in every sense quite opposite in principle to the *tao* of

³ This word *kwan*, usually translated "mandarin," also signifies the "senses," the "five *kwan*" meaning sight, hearing, smelling, tasting and thinking; thus, the "*kwan* of sight."

⁴ The quotation is from the ancient Book of History, of course before Confucius recast it. Confucius in his Analects also quotes these four words.

government. The wise prince does not refrain from indulgence in pleasures and gratifications because he is not fond of them, but in order to spare his people ; *per contra*, he does not actually like ⁵ giving his private substance away to the deserving or refusing pardons to the undeserving ; he does both out of correct policy ; his general attitude should be one of calm expectancy.

The attainments to be aimed at by the ruler of any state are, in the main, wealth and power, the object being to keep the other vassal states in their proper relative places, and to instil into neighbouring governments a wholesome respect ; in this way the subordinate states or powers will not venture to trespass on royal prerogative, even though they may be disappointed with the share of favour falling to them. Naturally the aims of an incompetent *dominus* are the reverse of all this : just as the mountain's height and majesty are formed from an aggregate of innumerable lumps of stone and clod, so is the illustrious ruler's prestige constructed out of the individual men working under him. An individual who starves himself never gets fat, nor does a man who is too sensitive to reproaches ever get wise. A foolish ruler wishes to show himself off personally and exclusively instead of quietly availing himself of other men's talents. The sovereign should secure both love and fear, and should make sure of the people's sympathy by himself showing sympathy with them ; for subject inevitably returns tit-for-tat in kind to ruler, just as child returns it to parents, being an equivalent for what they respectively get. A wise prince never expects the impossible, quite contrary to what the foolish one does. The intelligent ruler may be compared with the sun, and evil ministers with irregular bodies obstructing the sun's light ; but to attempt rule without the agency of properly inspired ministers is like a woman offering herself in wedlock without the aid of a go-between or (*cf.* Russian) *svakha*. High-minded statesmen will retire into privacy rather than serve under a master who exhibits too great a conceit of himself, or

⁵ Cf. Dr. Johnson's " Why, sir, I have not a *passion* for clean linen myself."

who appears to barter away rights and dignities in order to fill his own private coffers. Nor should the prince lend an ear to cliques, or intrigues will surely follow. He should not waste too much time or money on shows and entertainments, nor give encouragement to courtiers and flatterers—not to say sycophants who disguise his own faults from him. Let him follow nature and go on ever improving. An intelligent prince cannot easily be hoodwinked, for he understands his own craft ; contrarily to what happens in the case of a stupid prince, who falls a victim to his ministers' craft : these folk never love so much as they fear the intelligent ruler who defeats their scheming ; it is he who holds the whip-hand and compels their service by his own power to grant or to punish ; for he must always have punishments in hand wherewith to terrorise as well as rewards in hand wherewith to encourage : in other words, his staff of servants will be actuated more by a desire to avoid evil consequences and secure advantages to themselves than by any affection for him ; whereas it is only a parasite ruler who leaves the power of life and death in the hands of his own subjects : it means his own ruin if he hand over effective power to them.

A perspicuous ruler should welcome exact information from all quarters, for all rulers cannot but wish to utilise the full powers of their people ; but if his prestige be derived in the name of as well as through those subordinate to him, then the prince is no longer master ; he may be blocked in—so to speak—morally, yet without any visible restraint being placed upon him. He must not share his power ; there should be no double practice and no dual rule ; let him set a policy and stick to it, and then he will find the people neither angry nor grateful, but accepting the regular order of things. If the prince himself be good, his officers' task will be all the easier ; moreover there should only be one standard for rich and poor alike. Bad results invariably follow from lending an ear to doubtful asseverations of fact, and from advancing incompetent men ; the same evil results follow from acting

on mere popular praise and blame. A rogue insensibly ruins a prince who is not wary, and an unwary prince is easily misled.

Every ruler desires wealth, distinction, and a long reign, coupled with obedience to his behests ; he hates deceivers and encroachers upon his prerogatives ; he dreads to lose his realm and to witness the extinction of his ancestral shrines. Of course every loyal minister wishes to second his master in all this, but finds himself continually hampered by rogues, to whose crooked advice an incompetent ruler too often lends a ready ear : hence cabals, desertion of the prince, and currying of these rogues' favour ; hence, also, as we have said, ten visits to a rogues' council for every one visit to the prince's court. Under a good prince there are sound appointments to office, whilst under a bad prince there is a general grab for good things. All excellent soldiers and statesmen are in vain if the prince himself be a bad one. Under a good prince ministers forget their own personal interests and keep their proper places in their anxiety to serve, whilst under a weak prince there is a general competition for rival advantages. Appointments should be for the good of the country, and not for that of individuals, emoluments being graded accordingly ; whereas under an incompetent prince all is jobbery for friends. A good prince applies his own tests in military as in civil cases, whereas a bad prince appoints on mere recommendation without making any tests at all. Good service is what really matters, both to the security of the ruler and the prosperity of his people—that is to say, in civil matters, the protection of wealth, the encouragement of effort, the raising of revenue, the repairing of the prince's blunders, the offering of prudent advice, and the getting rid of concealment. Rewards should be automatical and not a matter of caprice, life and death resting on the prince's power, and the distinction always being clearly marked between that and the subjects' power.

The circumstances under which the above principles were

reiterated over a period of forty years were these. China⁶ then still consisted of the Yellow River valley, the river itself then, as now, practically unnavigable and subject to disastrous floods. Almost nothing is known of the earlier dynasties, though there is no reason to suppose that social life and moral principles differed much from those developed and placed on permanent record by the new dynasty of 1122 B.C. ; this adopted a new or modified policy of enfeoffing family relatives and military supporters in semi-independent principalities, all of which touched the Yellow River at some point, and around these principalities were grouped the petty republics which had in remoter times done duty and service, according to custom and tradition, to the central King or Emperor. During four hundred years (1100-700) of rule, inter-state commerce, population, colonisation, means of written communication, and progress generally had made remarkable advance ; of details we know little, but the chief feature was that the Kings had grown inefficient, whilst their score or more of chief lieges had correspondingly developed practical independence. Notwithstanding, they were all pretty firm and loyal upon one point, and that was in recognising the Kings as spiritual superiors, holding the key to ritual, possessing the ancient power to recognise successions, confirm titles, and so on. Kwan-tsz, whose wits had already been sharpened by engaging in inter-state trade, was recommended by one of his old trade partners (then political adviser to the wealthiest of the competing states) for the post for which he himself felt insufficiently competent. Happily for his own interests, the reigning Marquess accepted this advice, and the new mentor, once installed, set himself to work to develop an entirely new idea. This idea was to develop military and economical power persistently on such lines as to force the rival great powers to moderate their separatist ambitions and continue the performance of their ancient duties

⁶ No territorial-ethnological name ever existed ; the peoples forming articulate China, inarticulate China, and the cognate tribes more hostile than even inarticulate, all put together formed " the world " ; just as, in a sense, the Egyptian " Empire " and the various editions of the Mesopotamian " Empire " each formed a " world " for the populations.

towards the King. His policy was one of benevolent force or *pa*—a word meaning “dominancy”—and he was quite successful in creating for his own master this dominant position, which definitely rescued China from Tartar invasion in the north and from the rival Imperial schemes of the less orthodox half-Chinese colonies in the south. How this originally excellent idea of altruistic *pa* or “Protector to the King” developed in later ages into a contest for a new kind of dynastic *pa* or seizure of universal Empire forms no part of our present scheme, which is simply to show how definite political philosophy began in China; how Kwan-tsz’s teachings unwittingly led to the abolition of the old feudal Kings and the creation of a universal *pa* or Imperial Centralised State; and how Laocius and Confucius extracted from the same sources as those open to Kwan-tsz two rival philosophies⁷: both of the first-named vague preachers have had quite a continuous influence upon Chinese thought, whilst the more intelligible and practical Kwan-tsz has been ignored. I now proceed to give an account of *tao* or “the way” of nature, which is stated by all three philosophers to be the basis of their teaching, but the spirit of which they all three in effect equally admit was traditionally handed down from the mysterious old “ancient kings” or spiritual Emperors, of whom, however, we really know nothing definite.

In his first chapter Kwan-tsz descants upon the *tao* to be observed in relation to homestead, village, state, or empire, using much the same language as that employed one hundred and fifty years later by Laocius: this *tao* must be permanent and not fitful, and must work by natural (*t'ien*, or Heaven’s) laws: it is as necessary for rulers as for ruled, for we cannot all be distinguished men, and hence there is a *tao* (natural sense or reason) in the mere fact of any personal differences in capacity and status existing. It is also consistent with *tao* that there should be wealth, for the accumulation of wealth connotes the reduced necessity of making further demands upon the people. In his

⁷ See “Parting of the Ways” in *The Manchester University Review* for July, 1906.

second chapter Kwan-tsz discusses the unchangeable and eternal nature of that *tao* which has from the beginning formed the guiding principle of rule: in this connection it is interesting to note what Laocius says after a century or more of further experience—namely, that it is only when the “great *tao*” becomes effete that such artificial ideas as charity, justice, knowledge and cleverness—all denoting inequality, or a departure from nature—begin to take possession of men’s minds. The fourth chapter has whole sentences that might have been copied from Laocius’ book, but which, on the contrary, must have tended to inspire the latter to write that book: for instance, the “holy man,” or natural-born ruler of men, armed with his full quality and experience, always maintains *tao* in his general behaviour; *tao* is all-pervading, all-embracing, all-affecting; *tao-têh* is, or are, invariable and everlasting; *tao* is what the sun is in heaven and what the heart is in man—*i.e.* the source of life and mental activity. Legality (*fah*⁸) derives from principle (*li*), and principle, from order (*chi*); principle plus order are, in fact, *tao*; wherever the *tao* of heaven exists, it must prevail over a condition of things where there is no such *tao* of heaven. The fifth chapter explains specifically how this *tao* effect operated in 1100 B.C., when the founder of the new dynasty (to which China has owed and still owes her articulate refinement and moral strength) prevailed over the old dynasty (as to which we have practically no information whatever beyond the fact that the recently exhumed bone inscriptions absolutely prove the truth of its existence as recorded in the most ancient Chinese history): the above-mentioned founder prevailed because, as King, he ruled by *tao*; but then (adds Kwan-tsz), the word *tao*, implying “the *right* way,” can also be used in the crude or original sense of “the *way*,” as, for instance, the way *not* to govern.

If the prince fail in his *tao*, then the great ministers tend to excessive authority. Heaven’s *tao* has its phases, for when it has

⁸ It is necessary that I should give the original Chinese words for the benefit of those who know Chinese and naturally wish to see the exact point in each case.

reached its acme it returns, and at the full it begins to weaken; like the movements of the sun and the moon respectively, so the governing system or maintaining of order for the Empire. The whole subject is thoroughly worked out in this chapter, which may indeed, as above suggested, be the basis, or another part of the basis, upon which Laocius' speculations are founded.

The sixth chapter recurs to the subject from other points of view; thus the superior or cultured man (*kün-tsz*) may be said to feed or subsist on *tao* just as the clown (*siao-jên*) feeds or subsists on his labour. A state can no more dispense with *tao* than individuals can dispense with desires or objects in life; the great thing is to lead the people along the *tao* when you have it yourself, and to utilise men of first-class capacity (*hien*) when you have secured them; thus it is impossible for any state to get along satisfactorily without *tao*. The following clear definitions are specially interesting as having been made before the new title of *hwang-ti* or "August Emperor" was substituted towards the close of the third century B.C. for the simple *wang* or "King," both having inherent in them the supreme title of "Son of Heaven." Kwan-tsz says: "The one who discerns Unity is *hwang*, and he who can detect *tao* is *Ti*; he who is well acquainted with *têh* (i.e. the results of *tao*) is the King (*wang*), and the military strategist is the Protector (*pa*); *tao* and *têh*, being immeasurable, are not altogether inconsistent with a vigorous military policy; *tao* is to harmonise (*ho*) and *têh* is to unite (*hoh*) the people." All this strongly savours of Laocius and the great military⁹ writers, Sun-tsz (sixth century B.C.) and Fan Li (fifth century B.C.). However, in the next or seventh chapter Kwan-tsz advises the Duke¹⁰ that the view of

⁹ In *The Asiatic Review* for July last I have contributed a paper exclusively dealing with the quasi-Prussian military *Kultur* of Kwan-tsz, and I have alluded to Dr. Lionel Giles' translation of the book of *Sun-tsz*, with its Preface by Earl Roberts. The agricultural, economical, spiritual, and other of Kwan-tsz's philosophies will be dealt with separately on some future occasion.

¹⁰ All vassal states were ruled by what, for convenience sake, we translate as dukes, marquesses, earls (counts), viscounts, or barons, owing fealty to the *wang* or king; but whatever their status when living, they were all *posthumously* "dukes" by courtesy—i.e. if they were civilised enough to fall under the dynastic posthumous law.

tao taken by the wise kings of old did not contemplate military rivalry, and in the eighth chapter he explains that the really good ruler develops *tao* in his own person (see back). The tenth chapter continues the lesson or sermon on *tao* and *têh*, and lays down the principle that the fewer the words used the better ; just *conduct* results in the people ceasing to stand in bewilderment as to the real meaning of *tao*, which is only another way of saying that they are "roaded" or "guided along the road" by their superiors ; hence *tao* and *têh* derive from the prince whose ministers execute his pleasure, and the *tao* is thus completed. A prince with *tao* abides by the Law, whilst a prince without *tao* evades the Law. *Tao* gives birth or life to man, and is thus born in man, not placed in him afterwards ; the sacred kings and perspicuous princes of old were men expert in understanding *tao*, which is formless, and not based on anything (*hü shêh*, "emptily set-up") : *tao* on a great and kingly scale, and also on a lesser or princely scale, signifies in reference to these rulers that they possess the respective means to rule each one his particular state. The eleventh chapter returns to the subject, showing how *tao-têh* are fixed by those above in such wise that the people below are unconsciously regenerated ; but a perspicuous ruler's *tao* always keeps within the prescription (*fah*) and does not swerve (*a*)¹¹ from it ; and it is here once more asserted, as in the sixth chapter, that *tao* nourishes the cultured individual in the same sense that his bodily labour nourishes the common man. Kwan-tsz at this point mentions a lesson he learnt from an individual who cannot be identified, but who was apparently the ruler or the minister of one of their minuscule subordinate fiefs visited during the Duke's career of *pa* or dictatorial conquest : this lesson was to the effect that *tao*-less princes indulged in luxury whilst ignoring really good men, thus failing themselves to adhere to the natural law (*t'ien-tao*), spending their time in gaming, dalliance, hunting, and careering about. He goes on himself to say that the minister without *tao* is office-seeking and obsequious, whilst

¹¹ A popular proverb runs to-day: *Lao T'ien puh a*, "Good old Heaven shows no favour or swerve."

exposing his prince to the brunt of any blame that may be attachable to the course of affairs. Cultured *tao* is that of the ancient kings, who were careful in their observance of what was due to the spirits of the hills and rivers, to the ancestral shrines, and to the local deities or gods of the soil (*shê-tsih*). The next chapter suggests other borrowings by the later Laocius, when it is shown how the world of to-day is but the same world, though degenerate, as that of ancient democratic times, when no government was required, and when men lived in happy indifference to "rights" and "property" ¹²; the moral of it, however, is that the *tao* of heaven and earth, or of nature, must be followed as conditions and circumstances demand.

The thirteenth chapter shows metaphorically how the Heart, or prince, and the Nine Orifices, or ministers, are inevitably correlated in their *tao*, which must therefore never fail at the calm and restful top in such wise as to cause injury to the changeful subordination below; for *tao* is motionless and unemotional, whilst the regeneration and training of all human beings (*wan-wuh*) is *têh*: human relations, as, for instance, those between prince and subject or father and son, fall under the head of right or justice (*i*), whilst distinctions of class come within what is termed rite or religious observance (*li*). These definitions of Kwan-tsz are important, for one hundred and fifty years later, as we have seen in discussing chapter ii., Laocius denounced these two artificialities of Confucius' modern refinement. Kwan-tsz goes on to say that a wise man does not either check natural inclinations or deny people innocent and useful disliking privileges; it is a mistake to be capricious and changeable in such matters, for a prince should be calm and ready to adapt himself to circumstances. The *tao* of the supremely cultured man (*shêng-jên*) is like life, in the sense that it is invisible as it comes and goes; and both he and the man enjoying the next highest degree of culture (*kün-tsz*) know how to utilise

¹² A state of affairs vividly recalling Don Quixote's *siglos dichosos* as sketched by him for the benefit of the gaping goat-herds over a dessert of free acorns—but after first devouring their bread and cheese with good appetite.

things and circumstances rather than become a creature of them. Set in motion what is right, quietly, in a timely way, and administratively; if it be done harmoniously, it will endure: do not seek any advantage if not conformable, as above indicated, with your *tao*; in the first place follow Heaven, then follow Man, and ask yourself the reasons for and the nature of what you do. Nature produces everything in its due time, and it cannot be distorted; hence the wise man quietly awaits natural results. *Tao* is never in excess for the purposes of one single unit, and never falls short for the purposes of all units: no oracle is ever required to inform you what is and what is not contrary to *tao*. *Tao* is as big as Heaven and as broad as Earth, as heavy as a stone and as light as a feather.

The fourteenth chapter develops the qualities-of-water theory, the lowliness of its level being "the house of *tao* and the instrument of rulers"—a theory of some of the Greek philosophers. Rulers' commands must be governed by Heaven's *tao*, or by the circumstance and season; only the man of the highest culture (*shêng-jên*) understands the *tao* of the four seasons, the *têh* of the stars, the year, the bearing of the planets (*ch'ên*), and the moon. *Tao* begets Heaven and Earth, and *têh* begets the sage (*hien-jên*); and it must be remembered that the ancient dynasties found it necessary to shift their spring-time, though *tao* itself is traced as far back as *Hwang-ti* (2697-2597 B.C.), whom later generations follow, for nature never runs contrary to season. *Tao* may be defined as natural harmony, and covers amongst other things the abstention from destroying immature existence, whether it be of living or of vegetating creatures; in the same way it demands that punishments must fit the crime, be definite, and not liable to capricious change. With a ruler who can use *tao* there is no worry, and things automatically go right.

The fifteenth chapter once more defines *tao* as natural harmony; with a ruler capable of utilising it, effort and anxiety are unnecessary, as things always right themselves in the end. Law or legal administration (*fah*) is *tao* in its supreme (*chî*)

sense. Ever since the world began all heavenly bodies have been unfailing in their movements, and thus a State of law and order means one where the ruler's *tao* is conspicuously clear. The sixteenth chapter discusses the unspeakability of *tao* quite in the style of Laocius' book, of the well-known but apocryphal Taoist *Yin-fu* "classic," and even of Mencius (fourth century B.C.), when he discusses the "absence of motion" (*pu-tung*): this *tao* is invisible, born within us, inaudible, ineffable; is used in the heart or mind when its effects are visible; it is rootless, stalkless, leafless, and flowerless; yet things are born of or fructified by it. Kwan-tsz reproves the Duke for trying to get the better of (*shêng*) or to overpower his people instead of endeavouring to induce or regenerate (*hwa*) them—the former a process which, he says, is certainly not the great *tao* of Empire, nor in accordance with a true princely ruler's motto.

It must and cannot but be noticed that there are numerous repetitions and variations of language in this philosophical treatise of Kwan-tsz: thus the seventeenth chapter gives us another version of the necessity for following "Heaven's time," and noting the duties appertaining to each season; the necessity for giving to young life full time to mature, and so on; in fact, the "game laws" clearly had a local inception in Kwan-tsz's mind, but always in the interests of natural life, and never in the interests of class privilege. Again, the consistency of *tao* with wealth discussed in the first chapter is repeated in the eighteenth, where the Duke desires to know if it is consistent with *tao* for him to keep what he possesses. "Yes," replies Kwan-tsz, "by all means take and keep what comes spontaneously or easily without incitement; but do not initiate the movement, and do not try to keep the acquisition of things on the move." The word *Ju*, usually translated "Confucianist," though apparently not used at all by Kwan-tsz himself, appears from other authors to have meant, in his time, "the educated class," or, as one native commentator has it, "those who can mentally penetrate the principles of Heaven and Earth"—as portrayed by Kwan-tsz himself in the nineteenth chapter.

The twentieth chapter goes on to show how Heaven, Earth, and the seasons never change their *tao* ; just as the archer has a " must-hit-the-target " *tao* so the ruler has a " must-maintain-public-order " *tao* : repeating the language of the fifth chapter, the philosopher goes on to explain that it was precisely the possession of *tao* in his mind and action that enabled the founder (1120 B.C.) of the then (700 B.C.) comparatively new royal dynasty to overthrow its corrupt antecessor.¹³ The mean man tries to crook or bend the true *tao* in order to conciliate his ruler, basely tendering surreptitious counsel with a view to attaining mean ends. Still, as a matter of fact, a ruler's subjects like to see him rich and distinguished, and, this being so, he should be careful always to practise *tao-têh*, and thus avoid disgusting his people, for Heaven and Earth are impartial to great and small in conferring their blessings. *Tao* is meat, raiment, and shelter ; it regenerates everything ; therefore the motto is " adhere to *tao*."

The last four chapters throw little new light upon the general conception of *tao* beyond giving us repetitions of views taken sometimes from other angles of vision : thus, the ruler of men, the lord of men, the king, the prince, are all alternately spoken of in such a way that it is evident the same divinity doth, in theory, hedge them all, and that *tao* doth, in theory at least, shape their ends, rough-hew them how they will ; the prince should therefore follow nature ; he stands for the fixity of heaven and earth, with or in relation to the four seasons ; but if the prince be so unwise as to play subject-*tao*, then the ministers or subjects will inevitably try to play prince's-*tao* : therefore each to his proper place or sphere. Then there is a *tao* as applied to regular revenue, filial duty, charitable institutions, and other special matters ; " this perpetually-existing or universal *tao* (*t'ien-hia-chi-tao*) may be termed standard *tao* (*chun-tao*). " The mythical founder of Chinese civilisation

¹³ I.e. the dynasty of which since 1898 we have definite first-hand documentary traces in the recently discovered bone and tortoise-shell inscriptions referred to on pp. 50, 60 of the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* for 1915-1916.

(2697-2597 B.C.) is said to have asked an adviser named Pêh-kao if it were *tao* to mould the Empire (*t'ien-hia*) into one family, to which query an equivocal answer was given ; unfortunately the Taoist eccentric Chwang-tsz (fourth century B.C.) seems to be the only authority to mention this cautious adviser, and even then only in connection with the almost equally mythical Emperor Yao (2356-2256) B.C. : moreover, the idea of unifying the " Empire " savours of Kwan-tsz's own Protector times, and it is plain in any case from the place-names enumerated, as the Duke boasted of having carried his arms over the " whole Empire," that he was never for many successive days together one hundred miles from some part of the Yellow River, much of the left bank, and even parts of the right, being in Tartar occupation, notwithstanding that some of those Tartars may have accepted Chinese rank. When popular rumour, towards the end of the Duke's illustrious career, announced that a dragon had appeared, Kwan-tsz said : " By all means let us bruit the miracle abroad, for it is only the foolish who believe in and are swayed by supernatural beings (*kwei-shên*), whilst the knowing ones utilise them for their own prestige, and in order to set going the *tao* of the Empire " (the *t'ien-hia-chi-tao*, or universal *tao* just mentioned). It must be repeated here that, even in Confucius' time—*i.e.* from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years later than Kwan-tsz—there was yet no connected literature, no regular style, no logical method of expression, no syntax, prosody, or etymology : the intricate thoughts were there suggestively, and the historical facts subsequent to 841 B.C. are, in the main, true beyond all doubt ; but the working or reproducing brain machinery was still inexpressive : man's brain seems, from recent anthropological discoveries, to have been as well developed and often as intelligent in remote prehistoric times as it is now, so far as intelligible speaking and efficient acting go ; but the means of perpetuating and recording and reproducing thought were yet imperfect in most parts of the world as well as in China, and it was for later generations (500 B.C. to 200 B.C.), acquainted both traditionally, practically and by blood-inheritance with the names of persons

(including descendants) and places (including tombs) to turn such of the short, jerky records and memoranda (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.) as had survived war and revolution into readable literature: subject to these qualifications, therefore, we may give the book *Kwan-tsz* a true bill, and credit China of the seventh century B.C. with his intellectual power and administrative capacity to apply that power.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By W. H. BENNETT.

FOR popular sentiment the arrangement of the A.V. and R.V. possesses a sacred authority similar to that of the most inspired portions of the Bible. For many, a Bible with the books arranged differently would hardly be a Bible. An enthusiast has published an edition with the New Testament placed first, and given it the title of "The Christian Bible." But we imagine that the new order would jar upon many, and they would feel it to be a most unchristian Bible; any more drastic alteration would seem yet more objectionable.

Nevertheless that arrangement has little authority beyond that of prescription, association, and a very partial intrinsic fitness—especially as regards the Old Testament, with which we are particularly concerned. It is needless to say that there was no divine revelation to the effect that the books were to be arranged in the order in which they are now printed; that order is not that followed by the Palestinian Jews, from whom the Church received the Old Testament in Hebrew; it is, therefore, not the order known to Christ; if indeed He ever had before Him a complete collection of the books of the Old Testament, or a list of them.

Indeed, there is no agreement as to order either amongst the ancient Jewish authorities or amongst the ancient Greek authorities, or amongst the ancient Latin authorities; the reader may see in Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 200 ff., the numerous varieties of order found in the various MSS. and lists. Even in individual books, the order of the material sometimes varies—e.g. the Oracles on the Nations

in *Jeremiah* are placed almost at the end of the Hebrew MSS., but about the middle in the Septuagint.

The arrangement in E.V. is derived from the Vulgate, which probably followed certain Greek MSS. and lists, at any rate partly. This arrangement, therefore, is only so far authoritative that it has been adopted in the Western Church, both Romanist and Protestant, since the fifth century A.D.; it is not the most ancient arrangement; it is not the official Jewish arrangement; it has never been generally adopted by the Christian Church. It has, indeed, certain intrinsic merits. It is divided into three natural groups: (1) Narratives; (2) Poetical, Didactic and Philosophical Books; (3) Prophets. The principle is adhered to with a fair approach to consistency. It is true that the books of the groups (1) and (3) include much legal, didactic and poetical material, but this could hardly be avoided. Again, the books of *Lamentations*, *Daniel* and *Jonah* have no right to a place in a collection of prophecies; *Lamentations* is as much a collection of poems as *Psalms*; *Jonah* is a symbolic narrative of the same type as *Esther*, and *Daniel* is an apocalypse. Within the first group, that of Narratives, the books are arranged in the chronological order of the events which they describe. *Chronicles*, which is a later edition of previous books, chiefly of *Kings*, is rightly placed after the latter book. In group (2) the books stand in the chronological order of the persons with whose names they are chiefly associated—*Job*, *David*, *Solomon*. *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles* stand in the order of their length. In the Prophetical Group we have first the longer books in the chronological order of the prophets after whom they are named; then follow the twelve, in an order which is not really chronological, but was probably supposed to be so by the editors who compiled the collection of the twelve. In this case the order is misleading and indefensible.

The Jews have an official and authoritative division of the Old Testament into three parts: (1) Pentateuch, (2) Prophets—*Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings* and our prophetic books, with the exception of *Lamentations* and *Daniel*; (3) *Writings*,

the rest of the books. This order is that of the reception of each collection into the Canon, and therefore has a historical value. The order of the books in (1) and (2) agrees with that of E.V. The order in (3) is *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, the Five Rolls, regarded as a small collection, containing *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, then *Daniel*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Chronicles*. The order in the last group also largely reflects the history of the formation of the collection. For instance, *Chronicles* is placed at the end, after *Nehemiah*, although the events narrated in *Chronicles* precede those in the other book. This is probably because at first it was intended to include *Nehemiah* and not *Chronicles*, and the latter book was only admitted later. Thus the arrangement of the Jewish Old Testament has a historical value, and the record of it should be carefully preserved, as of course it will be. It is in some respects an improvement on that of E.V., in that *Lamentations* is not made an appendix to *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel* is not included in the Prophets; but on the whole it is not much more satisfactory.¹

We need not discuss the other varieties of arrangement found in ancient authorities; they do not differ materially in value from those of E.V. and the current Jewish Bibles.

There are various possibilities as to the rearrangement of the contents of the Old Testament. A stricter division according to subject matter might be attempted; the legal portions might be made into a separate section; the narratives in the Prophetical Books might be separated from their present context and appended to the Narrative Books. Certain poems might be taken out of the Narrative Books and appended to the Psalter, etc., etc. But for the most part, such changes would not be advantageous. There are, however, a few changes

¹ Our readers may be interested to know that the Jewish arrangement of the Old Testament can now be studied in a new English translation, *The Holy Scriptures*, made by orthodox Jewish scholars, and published by the Jewish Publication Society of America, whose London agents are Routledge & Sons, 5s. net.

of this kind which ought to be made ; *Lamentations* should be removed from the Prophets and placed with the Poetical Books ; similarly *Daniel* should be placed in a class by itself as an Apocalypse, and *Jonah* should be transferred to the Narrative Books. These changes would not be difficult and should be made. Another change of this nature would be more difficult, and would arouse opposition. A new group should be formed to include " Symbolic Narratives "—*i.e.* narratives which have a moral and religious value, like our Lord's Parables, but are not to be regarded as history, though they may sometimes be based on historical facts. There would be difference of opinion as to which narratives should be included in this group, but most modern scholars would agree upon the narratives (not necessarily the genealogies) in *Gen. i.-xi.*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, and *Jonah*.

Most interest, however, is taken in the suggestion that the contents of the Old Testament should be arranged in a chronological order corresponding to the times at which each section was composed. This idea has been very much in the air lately ; various proposals have been made in different quarters, and a certain amount of preliminary work has been done. To some extent, at any rate, an Old Testament so arranged is a desideratum, and it is worth while to spend a little time in discussing the idea. Of course information as to the dates which modern criticism assigns to the various sections is easily accessible ; there is a wealth of cheap, popular literature on the subject ; but such information is not so convenient or attractive as actually setting forth the material in chronological order. Again, certain books have been rearranged—*e.g.* *Isaiah* by Cheyne in the Polychrome Bible ; the Hexateuch by Addis in his *Documents of the Hexateuch*,² but they do not cover the whole Old Testament, and do not serve the same purpose as a single rearranged volume. Moreover, a collection of such books would be expensive, and what is most urgently needed is something which will make the matter plain to the ordinary Bible reader at a moderate price. Then, again, there are numerous works which print the material in its traditional arrangement,

² *I.e.* Pentateuch plus *Joshua*.

and indicate the sources by differences of type, initials, etc. This, too, however, is not a simple or direct way of enabling the reader to realise the relative antiquity of the various sections. Thus the chronological rearrangement seems to remain a felt want.

There are, however, numerous difficulties. To begin with, it is not a question merely of whole books or of large sections of books, like 1 *Isaiah* and 2 *Isaiah*; we have to consider an immense number of portions, small and great, from a single word, sentence or paragraph, up to a complete book; and each of these is a separate problem. Often no exact solution of the problem is possible with our present information. Notably it is often impossible to determine the exact date of a short paragraph, say a psalm, which does not refer to any known person or historical event, but is of a general character. We may be able to say, with a fair amount of confidence, that it belongs to a given century or series of centuries, but we cannot be more precise. It follows that often we cannot arrange a number of such portions in chronological order. If, for instance, all that we can determine about the dates of twenty or thirty psalms is that they were composed between 500 and 200 B.C., we cannot arrange these psalms according to the times at which they were composed. Some, perhaps, would profess to be able to do so, but, unfortunately, confidence in undertaking such a task is not always due to the possession of sound scholarly gifts; it may arise from an undue conceit as to one's own judgment; a power of drawing wide and assured conclusions from scanty and ambiguous data and the gift of ignoring inconvenient facts, when the evidence is conflicting.

At any rate there is a large measure of uncertainty, which makes it impossible to apply the principle of chronological order consistently and exhaustively. In some cases—*e.g.* psalms—a number of sections might be grouped, with the intimation that they belonged to a given period, but that their relative order was unknown; in such cases it might be well to

follow the order of the E.V., which, of course, is that of the Hebrew MSS. It might also be well to do the same in the case of longer sections or complete books, whose relative order is uncertain. Thus both *Joel* and *Jonah* are post-exilic, but it is not certain which is the earlier; they may very well be allowed to remain in the order—*Joel* . . . *Jonah*—in which they stand in E.V. But of course, if the editor of such a work as we are considering came to some definite conclusion on the matter, he would place the books accordingly. The use of this method would not always mean that sections of uncertain date would be left where they now stand; in the case of the Prophetic Books it would be desirable to remove them from the books in which they belong at present and arrange them in groups according to the periods to which they were assigned.

A different problem is presented by the Narrative Books, Pentateuch, etc., which have been compiled by interweaving sections, paragraphs, and sentences from sources; here we are often uncertain as to the source, and, therefore, as to the date. The two oldest Pentateuchal sources, J. and E., are frequently so closely and skilfully interwoven that there is nothing like general agreement as to which bit is J. and which is E.; we cannot determine the relative antiquity of the different verses; verse 1 may be J., and verse 2, E., and then verse 1 will be the earlier, or *vice versa*; but no good end would be served by attempting to indicate these facts by arrangement of the material; the scheme of chronological order has to be abandoned, and the reader can only be told that the section is compiled from two sources of different dates, but that it cannot be fully or certainly determined which portion belongs to which. The points raised are only illustrations of the problems set by our uncertainty; the reader will, perhaps, be struck by the difficulties involved rather than by the feasibility or satisfactory character of the expedients by which they are or may be evaded. A few experiments in the work of rearrangement would bring home to him still more forcibly the extent and complicated nature of these difficulties.

We have already referred to the fact that some of the Old Testament books are compiled by interweaving portions from various sources ; this interweaving is sometimes exceedingly minute, elaborate and complicated ; these phenomena give rise to yet another set of difficulties. Supposing we knew for certain the exact date of every word, it would be easy to arrange everything in chronological order, and the result would be interesting and valuable for the scholar. But as things are, the information we possess is accessible in other ways, and the results of an attempt to place every portion, however small, in its exact chronological place might hardly be worth while. The general reader, especially, would not find such a work either attractive or illuminating. It would be largely "a thing of shreds and patches" ; we might have one after another—a chapter from the book of *Isaiah* ; an editorial insertion of two or three words from *Genesis* ; a series of similar scraps ; a narrative from *Ezra* ; a few chapters from *Zechariah*, etc., etc. Narratives, poems, prophecies, proverbs, laws, editorial notes, would be hopelessly jumbled together. We should have a confused blending of heterogeneous material, far worse even than anything in our present Old Testament. It is obvious, therefore, that a rearranged Bible, to be of any practical use, would have to be a compromise between arrangement according to chronology, subject matter, and tradition.

For instance, something like the following would be fairly possible.³

A. NARRATIVES AND LAWS

(1) The combined JE Document and the similar pre-Deuteronomistic material in *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*, as edited by the Deuteronomistic School—*i.e.* the Deuteronomistic edition of the History and the pre-Deuteronomistic Laws ; together with all later editorial notes, etc., referring to this material.

³ A scheme of rearrangement was published in the *Venturer* some time ago, which had some points in common with this, but as I have not now got it before me I cannot say how far it was similar or how far it was different. The present writer had been considering the matter long before he saw the *Venturer* scheme.

Obviously notes on a passage have no meaning apart from it and must either be omitted or printed with it. The fact that they were notes and not part of the original text might be shown by printing them either in different type or as footnotes.

(2) The Deuteronomic Law and Exhortations, treated as in (1).

(3) The Priestly Code, including later additions and notes, *cf.* above.

(4) Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

(5) Symbolic Narratives: Ruth, Jonah, Esther.

B. THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS (in chronological order)

Lamentations, Jonah and Daniel would not be included in this group. Isaiah i.-xxxix.; Is. xl.-lv.; Is. lvi.-lxvi.; Zech. i.-viii.; Zech. ix.-xiv. would be treated as separate books. Notes and minor dependent additions by later hands would be dealt with as in A (1). Independent poems, prophecies, etc., might either be placed in appendices at the end of each book or together at the end of the group, in either case arranged as far as possible in chronological order, or in groups according to periods.

C. POETICAL BOOKS

Lamentations, Canticles, Psalms.

Any attempt to arrange the psalms in chronological order presents peculiar difficulties. An editor who had sufficient confidence in his own judgment in the matter would doubtless group the psalms as pre-Exilic, Exilic, Persian Period, Early Greek Period, Maccabean. But it is doubtful whether our knowledge is such as to make it worth while to disturb the present arrangement, which affords many indications of the history of the compilation of the Psalter, and preserves the original grouping of many of the psalms. Where a date could be given with any strong probability, it might be appended to a psalm. *Cf.* also the next group.

D. THE WISDOM LITERATURE

Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes.

The Elihu Speeches would be placed as an appendix to *Job*; notes, etc., would be dealt with as in (1). Possibly the Wisdom Psalms might be transferred from the Psalter to this group.

E. APOCALYPSE

Daniel.

There are, of course, alternative schemes, each of which would have advantages peculiar to itself, and each of which might appeal to a special class of readers.

There should be suitable divisions and headings, and brief introductions. Moreover, to use a technical printing term, there should be good "display"—*i.e.* the matter should be spaced so that the divisions and the relations of the sections would be at once obvious.

All this would cost money, especially with paper and printing at their present prices. It is doubtful whether at any time a rearranged Old Testament of a really satisfactory character, and at the same time attractive in form, would be a success as a commercial venture. Is there any prospect of obtaining adequate subsidies for such a work?



THE GIVER OF LIFE ¹

By G. ELLIOT SMITH.

ONE of the most surprising facts revealed by the study of the customs and beliefs of peoples who have been shielded from close contact with civilisation is their extraordinary lack of inventiveness. Most of them remain in a stagnant condition and reveal no evidence of what civilised people call " progress " either in the material or the intellectual sphere.

The realisation of this state of affairs makes one wonder what the original motive may have been that drove mankind to renounce the simple life and engage in all the unnatural toil and strife involved in his efforts to attain the artificial aim which the individual man regards as his personal advancement and the community calls the progress of civilisation.²

Before the invention of houses, the use of metals, the building of ships, the beginning of agriculture, the pursuit of scientific knowledge or the shaping of beliefs, some bright genius did not simply say to himself : " I must build a house " (to take one example of the things I have mentioned) and forthwith set to work to cut down trees and shape them into beams, to mould bricks and make walls, and to quarry rock and build up a dwelling or a temple.

Each of these things, the mere idea of a house, the use of

¹ This is a summary of part of the argument developed in " The Birth of Aphrodite," the third chapter of *The Evolution of the Dragon* (Manchester University Press, 1918), where bibliographical references are given.

² It is important to recognise at the outset that such " progress " does not necessarily bring an increase in happiness or contentment, nor does it mean a moral uplifting. Methods of cruelty and injustice, greed and warfare, are as much products of civilisation as the comforts of a modern house or the convenience of a railway train. Primitive man was a well-behaved and peaceful creature, free from most of the vices which the modern journalist in his blindness calls " savagery."

wood, the invention of bricks and the value of stone, had a long history behind it. The series of discoveries emerged more or less accidentally out of the empirical knowledge acquired by men who were busy following aims that had little to do with house-building. Without any knowledge or conception of a house man could not simply say to himself: "Let me build a house"; he had to invent the house before he could contemplate the possibility of any such procedure.

So also in the discovery of the use of metals. Copper, the first metal used for any really practical purpose, appealed first to men as a substance like gold, which he was using for the manufacture of amulets. But why did he attach any special value to gold? Why has this yellow and relatively valueless metal come to possess so arbitrary and inflated an importance that for fifty centuries the pursuit of it has been the obtrusive aim of mankind, the lure which has been the primary factor in the diffusion of civilisation and the chief object of greed which has been the parent of most of the world's strife and unhappiness? Man did not simply say to himself: "Here is valuable gold, let me collect it and get rich." He had first of all to create its artificial value before the relatively useless stuff was worth picking up. We have to discover the motive for this arbitrary enrichment of the yellow metal.

So also, if one by one we study each of the fundamental elements of our civilisation, we shall discover that however obvious and simple most of them appear to us, they do not appear in this light to the untutored "savage." Each of them has been the result of an invention or discovery which was made originally only after a long history and the accumulation of a complex mass of empirical knowledge, out of the matrix of which in due time the ideas were born that familiarity had brought into contempt with us, who label them obvious.

If we take up for consideration these fundamental ideas and practices of civilisation, and inquire into the history of each

of them in turn, the astounding fact emerges quite definitely—and with amazing consistency and uniformity—that the ultimate motive which impelled mankind to depart from the simple life of his original ancestors, and embark upon the hazardous regimen of toil and strife which we call progress and civilisation, was the search for an “elixir of life.”

If we study the literature of any of the ancient civilisations or of any religion, we will find that the essential theme is the striving to attain the means of life and resurrection; and from the remotest period from which any intelligible remains of man's handiwork have come down to us, we can see darkly, through the glass of untold ages before the invention of writing, evidence of the same quest and the same aspiration.

The earliest known representatives of our species (*sapiens*) left records upon the walls of certain caves in France and Northern Spain and in the graves of their dead which he who runs may read. And the meaning of these documents is the demonstration of primitive man's belief in the redeeming power of blood.

Man's earliest philosophical conception seems to have been the identification of blood with life and consciousness, “the blood that is the life thereof.”

His only concrete idea of death was associated with some physical injury which caused loss of blood. As the effusion of the red fluid caused loss of consciousness and death, it was not illogical to assume that blood was the substance of consciousness and life. Moreover these inferences found expression in practice. If blood was “life” it was obviously a rational procedure to offer blood to persons whose vitality was defective. It became an elixir to restore youth, to ward off danger to life (by adding to the vital substance), and to increase the supply of vitality to the dead, in whom life was not regarded as ended but simply reduced in volume. At first man did not consciously

contemplate the possibility of his own life coming to an end. If he could evade such physical damage as would lead to destruction of his body he was satisfied that his life would proceed unchecked; but the dull and lethargic existence beyond the grave could be enlivened if he received an extra dose of vitality in the shape of blood or some substitute. The belief in the efficacy of blood as an elixir of life not only exerted the most profound and far-reaching influence in early religious ceremonies and symbolism, but also was responsible for driving men to embark upon such diabolical practices as head-hunting and human sacrifice to obtain the blood which was credited with such potent magical value. Not only so, but head-hunting was the earliest form of warfare, and the prototype of a system which has for fifty centuries periodically desolated the world and brought untold misery and suffering.

But if the loss of blood was at first the only recognised cause of death, the act of birth was the only known method of life-giving. The portal of birth was regarded not merely as the channel by which a new life came into being, but also as the *giver* of life. The new being and its vital essence were considered to be actually created by what Semitic-speaking peoples still call "the giver of life." The cowrie shell which simulates this "giver of life" was then regarded as an appropriate amulet to add vitality to living or dead, to ward off danger to life or to give renewed supply of life-substance to the dead. But the circumstances of its original symbolism made it also potent to increase the fecundity of women and to facilitate birth. When the moon also came to be regarded as a controlling influence over these physiological processes in women the moon was drawn into the circle of elixirs of life. This was the commencement of the belief in a sky-world and a heaven, and also the foundation-stone of astrology and astronomy.

The pearl found in a shell then came to be regarded as a heaven-sent fragment of moon-substance and the quintessence of life-giving substance. Hence the Persians called it *margan*,

“the giver of life”; and this term was adopted far and wide from Eastern Asia to Western Europe (*margarita*).³

The symbolism of these shells and their products exerted a most profound influence in shaping the early religions of Egypt, Babylonia, the Mediterranean area and India, and, through them, those of the world at large.

The wearing of shell-girdles was responsible for the invention of clothing.

The desire to obtain the magic shells which the imagination of early peoples invested with such vast importance, as the purveyors both of religious and social boons, as the givers of life and resurrection, of prosperity and fertility, made them objects eagerly sought after. They were thus responsible for the first system of currency, the first coinage.

Not only so, but incidentally the same factors were responsible for fixing upon gold the arbitrary value which has made it so potential an instrument for good and ill in the history of civilisation.

In regions far removed from the sea-coasts which provided the magical shell-amulets, it became increasingly difficult to obtain the shells in quantities adequate to supply the growing demand. Hence the practice grew up of making models of the cowries in stone or other materials. In the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea (the home of the cowrie cult), which must have been repeatedly traversed by the searchers after shells, the soft, plastic, yellow metal was found in considerable quantity, lying about unused and unappreciated.

When the difficulty in obtaining shells began to be felt, it was discovered that it was easy to mould this metal into shape and to make models of shells of it. The lightness and the beauty

³ So Dr. Mingana informs me.

of such golden amulets made an immediate appeal to man's æsthetic sense ; and in course of time the metal acquired the reputation for " life-giving " which at first belonged only to the *form* of the amulets made of it.

Hence, golden amulets acquired a double potency and a double hold upon the imagination of mankind, which has persisted ever since in the use of gold as the basis of currency and the favourite material for making jewellery, ages after the life-giving attributes and its value as an amulet have become dim and almost forgotten.

So also we might trace back to their origins the inventions of the crafts of the carpenter and the stonemason, the architect and the shipbuilder, the inspiration to embark on maritime expeditions or to launch out upon the search for knowledge in biology, physics, chemistry, astronomy and meteorology ; and in every case we would find that the original incentive behind all human progress, material, intellectual and moral, and the driving force in all religions, was this insistent craving for some substance which would protect men from the dangers to life in this world and ensure his welfare in the life to come.

If we dig deeper and try to discover the meaning of this craving, we come to realise that its insistency and its enduring influence are due to the fact that the preservation of life is the fundamental and dominating instinct of human beings, in common with all living creatures. Consciously and unconsciously it shapes all men's thoughts and determines their aim.

A STAMP SEAL FROM EGYPT

By WINIFRED M. CROMPTON.

THIS seal, of soft calcareous limestone, was bought at Aswan from a native by an English resident. It afterwards came into the possession of the late Mr. John Cantrill, of Manchester, who kindly gave permission for its publication, and whose family have now carried out his wish that it should be presented to the Manchester Museum.

The back of the seal is cut away towards the edge, in two directions, leaving a central ridge of stone, running in the direction of the greatest length, to serve as a handle. This ridge, about 1.3 centimetres in height, is pierced by three holes, each about 4 millimetres in diameter. The design on the base is reproduced in actual size in Fig. 1 on the accompanying plate, and is of an unusual type, which raises many interesting questions.

The workmanship is extremely crude, but the chief figure is certainly a man, with one arm on hip, the other holding an indeterminate object of small size, unless this is merely the hand turned in with the fingers curled upwards. The head is formed by a round hole, which appears, of course, as a protuberance in the impression. Two similar protuberances are introduced into the background, one at the extreme base of the design and one over his arm (to right). In future these will be referred to as *dots*. Before the man is an antelope, running, its feet towards the edge of the seal. Under his left arm is an object which is probably a quadruped, with its head raised. Tree branches or twigs are used to fill up blank spaces. Some of these "branches" bear a superficial resemblance to characters of the Minoan and

Cypriote scripts, but I am unable to make a satisfactory identification.

Very few Egyptian seals resembling this have been published. Is its rudeness primitive or degenerate? Is it Archaic, or, say, Coptic? Very rude seals of the latter period are known, one, very similar in size, though not in form or workmanship, being in the Manchester Museum. On this point I may say that Sir Arthur Evans, to whom the seal now under description was shown not long ago, considers it early.

Some of the Egyptian cylinder seals of the Old Kingdom are engraved in a rude style approximating to that of our stamp, for instance, two figured by Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. II., 53 and 54. In these the men's figures seem similarly executed, with the head formed by a dot, while other dots appear in the background. These cylinders, unlike our seal, bear rude Egyptian hieroglyphs. The figures seen on the "button seals" found in Egypt bear a much greater resemblance to our Aswan seal. Especially is this noticeable in a tiny example of pink stone from a shaft tomb probably of the Sixth Dynasty, at Abydos.¹ Others may be seen in the collection at University College, London.

These button seals, of course, are one of the standing mysteries of Egyptian archæology, owing to their non-Egyptian character and likeness to seals of Minoan Crete and of Mesopotamia. They are generally considered to be the work of the Delta people, always rather liable to outside influence, or else to have been introduced into Egypt through foreigners, possibly invaders, at the close of the Old Kingdom period. The Aswan seal appears to belong to this style, though it is not a "button," and it will be seen in the following pages that the motive of its design, and sometimes the style, is found in Cretan and Western Asiatic seals.

¹ See Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, i., pl. vii., E. 45.

Until recently it was thought that the first seals of Western Asia were of cylinder shape ; however, lately, in the very lowest stratum of the mound at Susa, dated by De Morgan and Jéquier to before 4000 B.C., stamp seals of stone were found.² One of these has a design of an ibex (or goat ?) and tree branch (Fig. 2). On many others the figures of animals are largely formed by dots, drilled with a revolving metal drill known as the burr, or *bouterolle*.

It is a curious fact that the dots on the background, noticeable on the Aswan seal, are uncommon in Egypt even on button seals, but very common on a large class of Babylonian cylinders, as also on Minoan prism seals ; in the latter case they often, but perhaps not *always*, represent a numeral. In both these classes, too, the bodies of the figures are largely formed of dots, drilled with the burr (see Figs. 3 and 4). The Aswan seal is of a very soft stone, and I am not convinced that the holes are made with a drill ; they may have been cut out with the tool used in the rest of the design, but the dots are introduced into the background in the same manner as in the Minoan and Babylonian seals.

Are the Babylonian and the Minoan seals contemporaneous ? The Egyptian button seals belong to the Sixth to the Ninth Dynasties, chiefly the earlier time. The Minoan prism seals derive designs from these and begin " at least at the end of this period." ³

The Babylonian class, described by W. H. Ward as " thick cylinders with shrines and animals " and as " standing so far apart from Babylonian art that it is difficult to assign its place in a scheme of classification " is less easily disposed of. Ward, writing before he had knowledge of the Susian stamp seals drilled with the burr, doubts the early use of this tool in Western Asia, and in contradistinction to Heuzey and Ménant, who consider these cylinders as archaic, places them at about

² De Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. viii., p. 2.

³ Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 130.

1500-1400 B.C.,⁴ after which time these drilled figures and ornamental (?) dots are found frequently on Mycenæan and Western Asiatic seals. Féquier, describing the Susian discoveries, incidentally places these "thick cylinders" of Babylon between the oldest cylinders of Susa (found in the stratum above the stamp seals) and the most ancient Chaldean intaglios, remarking that they fill the gap between them.⁵ This would probably place them in the time of the Egyptian Old Kingdom (Third to Sixth Dynasties), a little earlier than the button seals. It may be remarked in this connection that the Minoan prisms and Babylonian thick cylinders both show vases of globular, skin-bottle type, with projecting spout and handle for suspension.⁶ These likenesses between the Minoan and Babylonian seals seem additional reasons for assigning the earlier date to the "thick cylinders." Isolated vases are curiously frequent on these Minoan prisms and Babylonian thick cylinders. In our Fig. 4, three very degraded specimens are seen, between the two ibexes, so very debased indeed that perhaps only a comparison with other cylinders, such as Ward, *op. cit.*, 501, would enable one to realise the object as a globular-bodied vase with spout at side and handle (like the cane one of a Japanese teapot) above. Is the dot sometimes, at any rate, a final degradation of this vase? Its presence above the hindmost ibex in our Fig. 4 inclines one to think so.

On a brown steatite disc-bead from Kamares, Crete⁷ (our Fig. 3), these dots are found together with an antelope and branch (unless this branch is entirely the antlers of the stag's head, which appears below the antelope, with muzzle towards the edge of the seal). Is the object above the tail of the antelope a goblet with a slight spout, a handle with an upright "spur," and a base like that of a wineglass, held up between the fingers, of which only the tips are seen? In that case one

⁴ See W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, pp. 179, 184.

⁵ *Dél. en Perse*, vol. viii., p. 26.

⁶ Cp. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Fig. 72b; W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, Fig. 501.

⁷ Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, Fig. 66b.

has again the idea of antelope, vase, dot and branch. The dot under the tail of the antelope may be a degraded vase.

The design of a man and ibex or antelope seems curiously common to various nations of the ancient world. Some striking examples are shown on our plate, Figs. 5, 6, and 7.

Fig. 6, from Susa, is a pottery cylinder belonging, probably, according to De Morgan,⁸ to the Archaic epoch, or lowest stratum but one, of the mound at Susa (*i.e.* older than the Egyptian First Dynasty). Fig. 7, from the cemetery of Paraskevi, Cyprus, belongs to the Bronze Age, according to Sayce.⁹ This has Cypriote characters which Sayce reads Mo-ro-ta-se. It cannot be anything like so old as that from Susa, if De Morgan's placing is correct, yet the style is strikingly similar. Fig. 5 is also from Cyprus, but the art more advanced. The man, ibex and dots appear, also a branch or tree. Again from Cyprus, but not here figured, is a rude porcelain cylinder from a tomb of the Mycenæan period¹⁰ containing stirrup vases and other pottery dated to the time of Thothmes III. or Amenhotep II. It shows the ibex, dots and man executed in a well-developed style.

But the seal most strikingly like the Aswan stamp both in design and workmanship is in the Ashmolean Museum, amongst the Hittite and Cypriote examples. It is cone-shaped, and of grey (steatite?). The man stands with his arms akimbo, with a beast on either side. The dots are replaced by triangles (perhaps the Cypriote character of that form?) and there are no other "motives." This seal was bought in Aleppo and belongs, says Mr. Hogarth, "to a large class of Syrian origin and Late Hittite or Pseudo-Hittite date. They bear a superficial resemblance to the button seals of the Early Kingdom in Egypt."

⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. viii., Fig. 55, pp. 24, 2.

⁹ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

¹⁰ A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. iv., no. 361.

It would be interesting to know what was the idea embodied in this design of man and antelope so widespread in time and space. Surely it must arise from a common source ! It is not a hunting scene. Such are, of course, frequent in the art of all countries, and cannot be used to prove intercourse ; but in all our cases the man is weaponless and stands with arms akimbo or in some other more or less unaggressive attitude. Neither does the design seem representative of a contest between a god and the wild beasts, such as is very common indeed in the seals of Western Asia. Yet it is possible there is some connection with this. Is it the victory of man over the lower animals that is implied ? The human figure on the Aswan seal and that in the Ashmolean Museum both have a rather triumphant though not an aggressive air, and those in Figs. 6 and 7 may be respectively about to overthrow, and seen just after overthrowing, the ibex. The ibex of No. 6 certainly looks as if it meant mischief ! No. 5 is a perfectly peaceful scene. On the whole it seems more likely that if the idea of victory was intended, the man or god would be obviously triumphant as he is in large classes of Western Asiatic cylinders.

There are probably more of these rude seals from Egypt and elsewhere in small local museums or in the hands of private owners. Each one that is published may help to throw light on the many problems connected with the question.

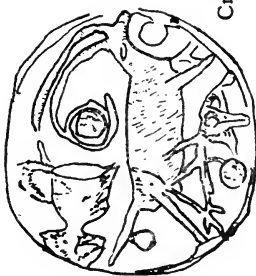


Back of Aswan Seal.

5. Cyprus.



3.

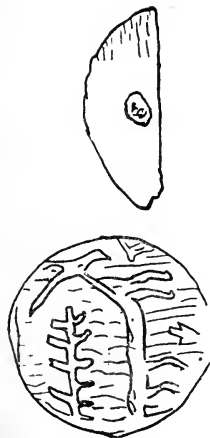


Crete.

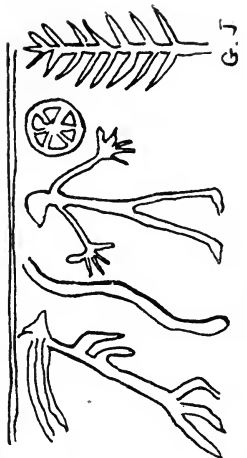


I.

2. Susa.

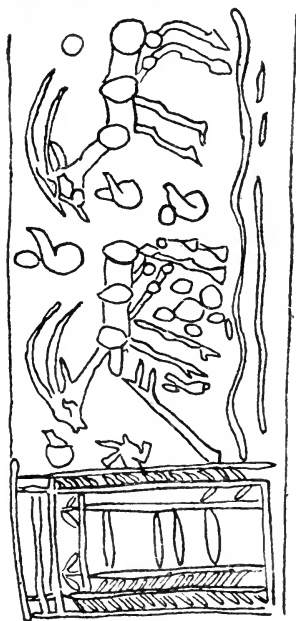


6. Susa.



G. J.

4. Babylonia.



7. Cyprus.



THE HEBREW צָלַח

By MAURICE A. CANNEY.

THE Hebrew word צָלַח, *ṣālah*, when used of the spirit of God coming with power upon a man, is commonly translated "rush," and there are two passages in which it is supposed to have the same meaning, though the reference is not to the onrush of the power of the spirit. In Amos v. 6 *yīṣlah* is translated "rush upon," in spite of the fact that there is no preposition in the Hebrew text to represent "upon" ("lest he rush like fire upon the house of Jacob"). And in 2 Sam. xix. 18, where the verb is again followed by the accusative, it is translated by H. P. Smith (*ICC*) "rushed through" ("rushed through the Jordan"). It occurs again in the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus viii. 10 (see R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, 1906), and is there translated "kindle" by the Septuagint; but the use of the word in this passage may quite well be due to a misunderstanding of the passage in Amos. When used of the power of the spirit, the verb is always followed by the preposition *עַל* or *אֶל*, "upon." It is this that seems to have suggested the meaning "rush upon."

As a matter of fact, the word (as distinguished from *ṣālah*, "to prosper") seems to be identical with the Aramaic root *ṣēlah*, which means "to split, cleave, penetrate" (cp. its use in the Targum of splitting wood, Gen. xxii. 3, 1 Chron. ii. 24, xxi. 23). What connection, if any, it has with the Arabic *ṣalaha* is doubtful, though it is curious that Muhammad gives to a certain prophet the name Ṣāliḥ (Qurʾān, vii. 71, 75; xi. 64, 65, 69, 91; xxvi. 142; xxvii. 46). The meaning "cleave" or "penetrate" suits the two passages (2 Sam. xix. 18; Amos v. 6) in which the verb is followed by the accusative, and I wish to suggest that to cleave, cut through, or penetrate (permeate)

is the real meaning of the verb even in the passages in which it is followed by the preposition על or אל.

The verb means to cleave or penetrate, and so, with reference to the spirit of Yahweh, to thrill (primarily, to drill). The preposition is to be understood pregnantly (cp. Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch, 1910, p. 384), so that על צלה may be translated "came with a thrill upon" (lit. "thrilled upon"). The thrill or ecstasy that comes upon a man and gives him a sense of divine power of one kind or another is like an electric current penetrating or cutting through the body. When it came upon Samson (Judges xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14), it made him supernaturally strong. When it came upon David (1 Sam. xvi. 13), it made him powerful and great. When it came upon Saul (1 Sam. x. 6, 10; xi. 6; xviii. 10), it made him a different man, so that he acted like a prophet. In Judges xiv. 6 it is even possible, I think, to find a play upon the word צלה in the sense "to cleave." When the spirit of Yahweh rends (comes with a thrill upon) Samson, he rends (וישפעהו) the young lion as one rends a kid. With this may be compared the curious passage in 1 Sam. xxiv. 8, where it is said that "David rent (*way-yeshassa*) his men with words." It is usual to emend the text, but this is not necessary. The meaning is that David spoke in such a way and with such power as to thrill his men and change them.

The sense of being changed after feeling the divine thrill is so great that a prophet is sometimes impelled even to change his name. This may account for references to a change of name in the Old Testament. Burton, writing of the Arabs, says (*Al Madinah and Meccah*, new edition of Bohn, 1913, i., p. 14, n. 3): "When a man appears as a Fakir or Darwaysh, he casts off, in process of regeneration, together with other worldly sloughs, his laical name for some brilliant coat of nomenclature rich in religious promise."

When Yahweh exercises his power upon a man, the sensation is not always the same. It may be pleasant or painful, beneficent or maleficent. But in either case it is a cutting, piercing, penetrating sensation. When it is beneficent, it makes the

victim feel supernaturally strong. When it is maleficent it makes him feel weak and depressed. In Job's case it took a maleficent form. Note the description in Job xvi. 13-14:

" His archers compass me round about,
He cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare ;
He poureth out my gall upon the ground.
He breaketh me with breach upon breach,
He runneth upon me like a giant."

The use of the word *šālah*, "to cleave," might be taken to imply a dim psychological recognition of the phenomena of dual personality, especially as it is stated that when the spirit of Yahweh came with a thrill upon a man, it changed him into a different person (1 Sam. x. 6) ; but the cleaving, as already noted, seems to be thought of as a cutting-through or penetrating rather than as a dividing.¹

So much for the verb *šālah*. I would suggest further that there occurs in one passage in the Old Testament a noun derived from it. The noun is חֲלָצִים, *šelsah*. The passage (1 Sam. x. 2) is translated in R.V. : "When thou art departed from me to-day, then thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah." But a place Zelzah is unknown, and a place-name is not required. The Septuagint has for חֲלָצִים ἀλλομένους μεγάληα. This has been taken to imply a reading חֲלָצִים, *solehim* (Part. active, masc. plur. of *šālah* ; cp. Nowack, *Ruth u. Bücher Samuelis*, 1902). It does not follow, however, that because the Septuagint translator rendered the word as a verb he read it as a verb. Moreover, Lucian's recension, though it divides the word into two, supports the reading in the Hebrew text. I take the word to be a noun, and suggest

¹ The same expression is, as a matter of fact, in use in our own language to describe a certain nervous state. J. D. Quackenbos notes (*Body and Spirit*, 1916, p. 69) that psychic sufferers speak of themselves as feeling, as it were, "split in two." Without being sufferers in the same sense, ecstasies would seem to have the same sensation. Nervous tension is not always unhealthy. In certain conditions the same sensation may be pleasurable and healthy or painful and harmful. The condition, for instance, in which one sees visions is not always pathological. As H. Stanley Redgrove rightly observes (*The Magic of Experience*, 1914), "the materialistic contention that all such experiences have their origin in disease either of mind or body is as untenable as the credulous belief that none is of this nature."

that it was regarded by the Septuagint translator as a noun, the form of which expressed intensity. The Greek words mean, of course, "leaping vigorously." This probably is only another and more vivid way of saying "in an ecstasy," which seems to me to be the real meaning of the Hebrew expression. It is true that in the Old Testament there is only one other example of a noun formation with the repetition of the first radical in the third place (*זרזיף*, *zarziph*, "drop" from *זרף*, Ps. lxii. 6), but the formation is not uncommon in Old and New Syriac (cp. Noeldeke, *Neusyr. Gramm.*, p. 191 f.; *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 85). Whether *be-ṣeṣṣah* is in its right place is another question. I would transpose the word and translate: "And they will say unto thee in ecstasy."

SOME NEW PUBLICATIONS

DURING the year the last work of our late President, James Hope Moulton, has appeared. The book, entitled *The Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism* (Humphrey Milford, 1917, pp. xiii. + 273, 8s. 6d. net), is a contribution to "The Religious Quest of India" series. In its typewritten form it was sent by post to England before Dr. Moulton left India, and the task of seeing the work through the Press was committed to the Bishop of Salford. It need hardly be said that *The Treasure of the Magi* is marked by the learning which the world had come to associate with the name of the author. But it should be stated that the writer deals with his subject in a style and manner such as to make it of fascinating interest. The work reflects the charm of the writer's personality.

Mr. I. Wassilevsky has published a very interesting and timely brochure entitled *Chassidism: A Résumé of Modern Hebrew Mysticism* (Geo. Toulmin & Sons, Ltd., pp. 31, 1s.), with a Preface by Professor C. H. Herford. As a contribution to a subject which is now attracting widespread attention, and to a branch of it on which little as yet has been written, Mr. Wassilevsky's publication should be welcomed by many readers. The author has made a special study of modern Hebrew literature.

Orientalists will find it worth while to read Mr. W. J. Perry's *Ethnological Study of Warfare* (published for the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society by the University Press, 1917, pp. 16, 1s. 6d.). The study is marked by Mr. Perry's usual originality. Evidence is produced to show that warfare is not a natural thing among mankind. "Before the arrival of the 'children of the sun' savage peoples would be at the stage

of the Punan, Bushmen, Tikopians, Eskimo, and others—peaceful, without hereditary chiefs or warriors, nobles or slaves. The conclusion suggested by the facts is that a people will be warlike or peaceful, according as they have or have not a hereditary warrior aristocracy; if a warlike community loses its military aristocracy, it will become peaceful, and if a peaceful community acquires a warrior aristocracy it will become warlike.”

Professor T. W. Rhys-Davids, one of our former Presidents, has published a noteworthy paper, *Cosmic Law in Ancient Thought* (published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, 1918, pp. 11, 1s. net). The purport of the paper will be clear from the following passage:—“If one glances over the tables of contents to the best and latest treatises on the early religious beliefs of the four or five countries where early records have been found—such as de Groot on China, Hopkins on India, Jastrow on Mesopotamia, or Breasted on Egypt—one sees that they are mainly, if not quite exclusively, concerned with animistic ideas or with the applications of such ideas. In the course of my ten years’ lectures on Comparative Religion, I came across quite a number of early religious beliefs and practices which by no stretch of ingenuity could be brought under animism. They were not explained in the books, and could not be explained, by the theory of a detachable soul. I found myself forced to the conclusion that we must seek for at least one additional hypothesis, as far-reaching as animism, and altogether different from it, before we could explain all the facts.” Behind all the groups of non-animistic beliefs, the writer thinks it possible to discern one single underlying principle, the belief in a certain rule, order, law. And since we need to invent a name for it—a name that does not imply or suggest a law-giver, and that does not suffer from the disadvantage of being still in common use—it may be called Normalism. To this term a specific, scientifically exact meaning can be attached.

Another timely publication is Edward G. Browne’s address,

The Persian Constitutional Movement (published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, 1918, pp. 20, 1s. 6d. net). Its aim is on the one hand to show how considerable is the debt which the world owes to Persia, and, on the other, to explain the genesis and briefly trace the history of the Constitutional or National Movement. Professor Browne makes us realise how much we owe to Persian religion, philosophy, science, literature and art. The disappearance of Persia from the society of independent states would, he contends, be a misfortune not only to herself but to the whole human race. "Unhappily there are a hundred scholars to plead the claims of Greece and Italy for one who can plead the not less cogent cause of Persia." As regards the Constitution Movement, Professor Browne thinks that no candid student of the last ten or eleven years will venture to maintain that the Persian Constitution was ever allowed a fair chance of success, and it is for this fair chance that he pleads. "And if the reign of Peace and Righteousness for which a tortured world prays is to come, it must be based on a recognition of the rights of all nations, and not merely of the nations of Europe."

The importance of Professor Flinders Petrie's latest book, *Eastern Exploration* (Constable & Co., 1918, pp. 118, 2s. 6d. net), is in some respects out of all proportion to its size. It contains, as might be expected, interesting accounts of the results of past exploration and excavation in Palestine and Mesopotamia. But what makes it of special importance is its disclosures as to the dangers that threaten the ancient sites and monuments now and in the future. "The political situation in the East as now developed, and the future possibilities before us, constitute, perhaps, the heaviest responsibility for historical study that has ever fallen on any nation. We may have in our hands the development of the sites of the greatest ancient civilisation, the parents of our own knowledge, learning and religion; and it will rest upon us to settle whether we will preserve and understand that past, or whether we will deliberately let it be destroyed." The matter is indeed urgent.

It may seem rather premature, as Professor Flinders Petrie says, to discuss what should be done at the end of the war ; but we are already pledged to a definite course politically, if we can succeed in controlling it, and the circumstances are such that if we are not prepared to do immediately all that is necessary for the protection and preservation of sites, monuments, and other antiquities, irreparable injury will be done to science and civilisation.

M. A. C.

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Objects of the Society

- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archaeology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any possible way.
- (iii.) To issue, if possible, a Journal. If this is not possible, to print at least a Report, including abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Society.¹

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- (a) For ordinary members, 5s. per annum (student members, 2s. 6d.).
- (b) For Journal members, 10s. 6d., of which 5s. 6d. is assigned to the Special Publications Fund.
- Subscriptions are due in January.

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<i>Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society for 1911</i>	5s. 0d. net.
<i>Journal of the Society, 1912-13; 1913-14; 1914-15; 1915-16; 1916-17; 1917-18; 1918-19</i>	each 5s. 0d. net.
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MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Balance from last year	16 4 5	Advertising	3 6 9
" Subscriptions	14 17 6	Subscription to British School of Archaeology in Egypt	2 2 0
" Bank Interest	0 9 3	Donation to British School of Archaeology in Palestine	2 2 0
		Subscription to Committee of Associated Educational Societies	0 5 0
		Lecturers' Expenses	4 14 9
		Bank Charges	0 1 7
		Petty Cash	3 8 11
		Balance	15 10 2
	<u>£31 11 2</u>		<u>£31 11 2</u>

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Balance from last year	19 3 5	University Press, towards cost of Journal issued 1918	20 0 0
" Subscriptions and Small Donations	18 12 6	Balance	23 4 4
" Donation from Mrs. Philip Fletcher	5 0 0		
" Sale of Book List and Report	0 1 0		
" Society's Share of Proceeds of Sale of Journal, 1912-13	0 7 5		
	<u>£43 4 4</u>		<u>£43 4 4</u>

27th August 1919.

Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.

condition, but the publication of the Journal is still largely dependent on the generosity of a few members. Mrs. Philip Fletcher has repeated her kind donation of £5 towards this end, and so leaves us free from anxiety as to this year's issue. If each Journal member would induce one friend to join during the coming year, our position would be secure.

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The Balance Sheet appears on p. 5.

W. M. C.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ADDED TO THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY SINCE SEPTEMBER, 1918

Books may be borrowed (by members only) by applying to the Treasurer-Secretary at the Manchester Museum, from whom also the Catalogue published 1913 may be had, price 3d.

The Athenæum—

Subject Index to Periodicals—Class List, 1916—Language and Literature.¹

Blackman, A. M.—

“Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian).” Reprint from *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 293-302.²

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Casartelli, L. C., Bishop of Salford—

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G. Le Strange, *trans.*

“The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulüb,” composed by Hamd-Allāh-Mustawfi of Qazwin in 740 (1340), pp. 322. 1919.³

Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society—
Journal, 1917-1918.

Mills, Prof. L. H.

“Yasna XLVII. of the Gatha,” (a) Spentamainyu rendered in its Sanskrit Equivalents (reprint, pp. 7. 1919).⁴

Musée Guimet—

“Le Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,” vol. LXXVII., no. 1, vol. LXXV., vol. LXXIV.⁵

“Conférences Faites en 1914,” pp. 199, pls. 40.⁵

Poussin, L. de la Vallée—

“The Way to Nirvana,” pp. 172. 1917.⁴

Ruggeri, V. Guiffrida—

“Se i popoli del mare delle iscrizioni geroglifiche appartengano tutti all'Italia,” pp. 18 (reprint, 1918).²

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Bulletin to date.⁶

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University of Uppsala⁵—

“Le Monde Oriental,” 1917, 1918.

Watson, Col. Sir C. M.—

“Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land,” 1865-1915, pp. 190, map (Palestine Exploration Fund).⁷

¹ Presented by the Publishers. ² Presented by the Author.

³ Presented by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial.

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silver from Syria and stone vases. The invaders seem to have come from the Red Sea. The boats depicted on this buff pottery bear ensigns, a few of which appear as the standards of the nomes of Egypt in historic times, but the ensigns were probably all local badges of towns. The reed, signifying the King of Upper Egypt, is found on pottery at S.D. 50, and the Red Crown of the Kings of Lower Egypt appears as early as S.D. 37. Human figures begin to be drawn about 30; by S.D. 45 they have become conventional. At S.D. 33 elephants' tusks with knobs on one end in the shape of a human head are found. These were probably used for magical purposes, as they are in Africa to-day, a priest being supposed to be able to bring a man's soul into a tusk and so steal it from him. Human heads of the paste figures were always represented bald, and a wig was tied on. This showed that the Egyptians shaved from the earliest times.

Figures immensely fat round the hips were made only in the first civilization. Probably they were copied from the last remnants of the Paleolithic people who may have been still employed as slaves by the Egyptians of that time. These large-hipped figures are reported from Poland, France, Spain, Malta, Crete, Algiers and Egypt; this shows a steady pushing back of the Paleolithic peoples from Europe and Africa. The Bushmen of Koranna, South Africa, appear to be their modern representatives.

Articles of the toilet are found in all periods. Ivory models of sandals were made at the end of the first civilization. The early combs had long teeth and ornamented tops—they were for holding up the hair; those of the second civilization had short teeth.

Ivory spoons appear about S.D. 46.

The older mace heads were of disc shape, the later, still used in historic times, were pear-shaped.

Harpoons of bone, ivory and copper are known. The development of the harpoon has always been supposed to be from one barb to many, but in Egypt it is from many to one. Copper daggers of triangular form occur at S.D. 50. At 63 one

is leaf-shaped and exactly like Cypriote daggers, so probably imported.

Slate palettes are common, the people having used them as a flat surface on which to grind down malachite for face paint. The earliest are a rhombic shape. At S.D. 34 well-formed outlines of animals are a usual style of palette. These animal shapes gradually decay till they have degraded beyond recognition except through noting the stages. Even in the first civilization the knowledge of arithmetic was fairly advanced, for the hieroglyph for the fraction one-half is found drawn on a vase of S.D. 30-40.

The third period, after S.D. 60, brings in the Dynastic Race.

The people who established the civilization of the Early Dynastic period came probably from Elam. They were shorter than the Egyptians whom they conquered, and the result of their mingling with them was to reduce the average height of the inhabitants of the country.

In reply to a question, the lecturer stated that there was no true Neolithic Age in Egypt. Copper appears with flints of the Magdalenean type. Polished stone was at all times extremely rare. The few polished stone axes found were importations from Nubia. However, the "ripple-flaking" of the exquisite stone knives of the second period was done on a ground surface.

The **Second Meeting** was held at the University on Wednesday, January 29th, 1919, the President in the chair. After the election of new members, who included Dr. Rendel Harris, the President called upon the Rev. I. Raffalovich, of Liverpool, to deliver a lecture on "Palestine and the Future of the Jews." The lecturer dealt first with the history of the modern National Movement, and then described the work done by the Jews in Palestine in more recent years. In 1854 Sir Moses Montefiori negotiated for a settlement of Jews in Palestine. In 1870 an Agricultural School was founded, and in 1878 the agricultural movement was further developed by the Jews of Jerusalem. The year 1880 was a great landmark. Anti-Semitism broke out in Russia, and a stream of Jewish blood

flowed. Emigration thus became an absolute necessity. Many Jews went to America, while a band of national enthusiasts sounded the cry, "Back to Palestine!" A real start was now made with Jewish colonies in Palestine. At this time, however, the enthusiasm of the colonists was much greater than their knowledge. They were ignorant of their own country and of the science of agriculture. They had also to contend with the opposition of the Turkish Government. In 1897 the political ideal came to birth, and Zionism was founded. Dr. Herzl announced to the world that the Jews demanded justice. Then came the Basle Programme, which aimed at creating a real home in Palestine for the Jewish people. The lecturer went on to explain what had been done by and for the Jews in more recent years. The Zionists had founded financial instruments. Their Jewish National Fund was intended to furnish the means by which the land could be redeemed for the people. Referring to Mr. Balfour's historic declaration, Mr. Raffalovich said that this was not the first time the Jews had had reason to be grateful to England. England had shown a special interest in Palestine. In 1804 the first Society for the Exploration of Palestine was founded in England. In 1830 the Scottish Church had interested itself in the restoration of the Jews. The first Consul in Palestine was an Englishman. In conclusion, the lecturer showed, partly by means of an excellent series of lantern-slides, what great progress the Jews have already made in developing education and industry in the country. He claimed that the work done during the last thirty years had demonstrated, on the one hand, the power of the Jews to colonize Palestine, and, on the other hand, their fitness to govern themselves. There was real need of a home for the Jews, for even to-day twelve millions of them had none.

The **Third Meeting** was held at the University on Wednesday, February 19th, 1919, the President in the chair. It was agreed that a grant of £2, 2s. be made from the funds of the Society to the newly established British School of Archæology in Palestine. It was further resolved that the Council should be empowered in future to make such small grants without

bringing the matter before the whole body of members. The President called on Dr. Elliot Smith to deliver his address on "The Intercourse between Egypt, Sumer and Elam." The lecturer said that while few writers have been bold enough absolutely to deny any connection between the Babylonian and Egyptian cultures, most of those who have admitted the reality of the influence exerted by one country on the other have assumed that the borrowing was chiefly on the part of Egypt from Sumer and Babylon. Relatively few writers have claimed that Egypt was the nursery of civilization from which Sumer drew its inspiration. He contended that the borrowing was on the other side, and produced evidence of an intimate cultural connection that must have linked Protodynastic Egypt to Elam and Sumer, and these in turn with the Iranian and Turanian domains.

The **Fourth Meeting** of the Session was held at the University on March 14th, at 7.30 P.M., the President in the chair.

Before proceeding to the business of the meeting the President referred to the sad loss the Society had sustained through the death of the Rev. C. L. Bedale, Special Lecturer in Assyriology in the University of Manchester, in a military hospital at Cambridge, from an illness contracted in the course of his duties as a chaplain to the Forces.

Dr. Walter Tattersall proposed the following resolution:—
"The Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, of which the Rev. C. L. Bedale was a distinguished and highly esteemed member, and on whose Council he sat, has heard of his death with great sorrow, and desires to express the deepest sympathy with Mrs. Bedale and with his children, as also with Mr. and Mrs. Bedale, senior. The Society recognizes the loss, not only of a learned fellow-worker and enthusiastic supporter, but also of one who was in every sense a sincere friend."

This was seconded by Mrs. Hope W. Hogg, and carried unanimously.

The President then called on Dr. A. M. Blackman to deliver

his address on "The House of the Morning." The lecturer remarked that :

The Heliopolitan sun-god Rē'-Atum was represented by his priests as reborn every morning as the result of his undergoing lustration. The lustral washing was performed by the sun-god himself, or he was assisted thereat by one or two divinities, namely, the goddess Kēbhōwet, daughter of Anubis, or the two gods Horus and Thōth. Thus, on account of his function of bath-attendant of the sun-god, a lustration-formula at Philæ speaks of Thōth as "the Thoth of Rē'."

The daily service in the Heliopolitan sun-temple began at dawn. The high-priest commenced the long series of episodes forming the daily temple liturgy by washing or sprinkling the sun-god's cultus-image, thus imitating the regenerative lustration which was supposed to be daily undergone by that god before he appeared above the eastern horizon.

The high-priest of the Heliopolitan sun-god in pre-dynastic times was of course the King of Heliopolis. This king was regarded both as the son and also as the embodiment of the sun-god. As such he himself likewise had to undergo lustration every day at dawn. The lustral washing of the king-priest took place before he officiated in the sun-temple, and as a result of it he was thought to be reborn like his divine prototype.

The king-priest's lustration was performed in an adjunct of the temple and of the attached royal residence ; it was called the House of the Morning (pr-dwʒt) because of the early hour at which the lustration was performed, namely, just before sun-rise.

Owing to his close association with the sun-god the king was supposed to be assisted at this lustration by Horus and Thōth, who, as we have seen, were held to be the sun-god's bath-attendants.

Horus and Sēth were also supposed to act as lustrators of the king in the House of the Morning. This idea must have arisen after Heliopolis had become, as Professor Sethe maintains it did, the capital of a united Egypt in pre-dynastic times,

Horus and Sēth being the tutelary gods of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively.

Actually the king was sprinkled by two priestly officiants impersonating either pair of gods and probably wearing appropriate masks.

The water used for the ceremonial washing of the king, and doubtless also for the sprinkling of the sun-god's cultus-image, was brought from a sacred pool attached to the temple. The water of the pool was identified with that of Nun, the primeval ocean out of which the sun-god was born in the first instance.

While the lustrators poured the holy water over the king they recited formulæ which asserted that it imbued him with the solar qualities of life and good fortune, and that by means of it he was reborn and rejuvenated like the sun-god, or that the purification he was undergoing was that of the gods Horus, Thōth, and Sēth themselves, and also that of Sepa, a divinity likewise closely connected with the Heliopolitan sun-cult.

The purification of the king was completed by fumigating him with incense and by presenting him with balls of natron to chew. The king was not only purified by the incense smoke, but by means of it was brought into communion with the four gods, Horus, Thōth, Sēth and Sepa, and their kas, and also with his own ka. The natron also, we learn from one of the formulæ pronounced at its presentation, was regarded as that of the four above-mentioned gods. Another formula asserts that it has been chewed and spat out by Horus and Sēth, and that when the king has chewed it his mouth becomes "like the mouth of a calf of milk on the day it was born." The king was also said to be divinized by the natron, there being a play on the words niter "natron" and nuter "god."

By being washed or sprinkled with holy water and fumigated with incense, and by the chewing of natron, the king was mysteriously reborn, brought into contact with divinities, and imbued with their unearthly qualities, and his mouth made fit to chant the sun-god's praises and recite the formulæ which accompanied the enactment of the various episodes composing the daily service in the sun-temple.

Fumigation, it should be noted, was the regular sequel to a bath or to the washing of the hands before a banquet. The purification undergone by Egyptian priests before they entered upon their course comprised the "drinking" of natron. Likewise the wailing women who bemoaned Osiris at the annual re-enactment of his embalmment and revivification, besides purifying themselves four times, washed their mouths, chewed natron, and fumigated themselves with incense, in order that both they and the lamentations with which they beatified the god might be pure. In this connection it is, perhaps, not inappropriate to point out that the modern Egyptians still perform ablutions before praying, these ablutions consisting, among other acts, in the washing of the mouth. (See Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1895, p. 82.)

After being thus purified the king-priest was robed, anointed, decked with various ornaments, and invested with the royal insignia. In fact what took place in the House of the Morning was an elaborate ceremonial toilet. He was now ready to enter the temple.

To return once more to the daily service performed in the Heliopolitan sun-temple. After having washed or sprinkled the god's image, the king-priest completed its toilet in exactly the same way as his own had been completed by the two officiants in the House of the Morning—viz. he fumigated it with incense, presented it with natron for the cleansing of its mouth, and then clothed, anointed, and arrayed it in various ornaments, and invested it with royal insignia.

That the toilet of the sun-god should be identical with that of the king is perfectly natural. The god was conceived of as a king, indeed as the prototype of all Heliopolitan kings; accordingly the ideas about the god and the king, and also the ceremonies performed on their behalf, acted and re-acted upon one another.

The king's close connection with the sun-god was not severed by death. The dead king was supposed to ascend to heaven, where he was assimilated to or identified with the sun-god or else held the position of the god's son.

But before he could ascend to heaven it was thought that he had to undergo the same regenerative lustration as that daily undergone by his divine prototype before he rose out of the horizon, and that daily undergone by himself during his lifetime.

The rite of preparing the dead king's body for burial was therefore as nearly as possible a replica of the daily ceremonial toilet of the living king in the House of the Morning, a performance derived, as we have seen, from that supposed to be daily undergone by the sun-god at dawn, and actually daily undergone by his cultus-image at the hands of his high priest. Accordingly the name, House of the Morning, seems occasionally to have been applied to the place in which the royal corpse was made ready for the tomb.

The gods who were associated with the washing of the king when alive were also associated with his posthumous washing—namely, Horus and Thōth, or Horus and Sēth, or the four gods, Horus, Sēth, Thōth and Sepa, or just Horus by himself, without a companion god. Moreover other divinities connected with the sun-cult are said to wash the dead king—namely, Shu and Tefenwet, who having been spat out of the sun-god's mouth were associated with water; Kēbhōwet, who, as stated above, washed the sun-god; the Worshippers of Horus; and lastly, the four gods who presided over the Pool of Kenset.

These lustrator-divinities, who figured at the washing of the dead king in the funerary House of the Morning, were impersonated by human officials, as was the case at the washing of the living king in the temple House of the Morning.

It should be noted that a passage in the Pyramid Texts, describing the washing of the dead king by Horus and Sēth in the presence of Atum, speaks of him not only as being born and conceived and as coming into being and growing tall, but as being Atum's son. The dead king was therefore thought both to be regenerated and also at the same time to be affiliated to the sun-god, through the medium of the sacred water, which, be it observed, was identified not only with Nun, the primeval ocean, but also with the seed of the sun-god. (See *Proceedings*

of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. xl., p. 89 ; Chassinat, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, p. 69, pl. xx., text behind Horus.)

Through being thus washed the dead (like the living) king was thought to acquire the qualities and characteristics of the sun-god.

The dead king was supposed to be washed and reborn not only once but daily, as was his divine prototype. A rite, therefore, based upon that of the House of the Morning was daily performed in the chapel attached to the royal tomb, this rite being incorporated into the much older funerary banquet. A libation, however, was substituted for the lustral washing of the corpse, which lay inaccessible in the burial vault.

In order to ensure the daily rebirth of the dead king, it was probably regarded as necessary that his corpse should be intact ; hence, possibly, arose the custom of embalming it. But since the early mummies were extremely perishable and unlikelike in appearance, it was thought desirable to supply the deceased with a new body, more durable and realistic than the corpse—namely, a portrait statue.

To identify the statue with the king's body a rite was performed called the Opening of the Mouth, which, apart from certain episodes peculiar to itself, was, like the preparation of the body for burial and the daily liturgy in the tomb-chapel, derived from the Rite of the House of the Morning ; indeed, the name House of the Morning could be assigned to the place in which the Opening of the Mouth was performed.

Owing in the first instance to the identification of certain local divinities with the Heliopolitan sun-god, the daily service performed on behalf of all Egyptian divinities in historic times was based upon that performed in the Heliopolitan sun-temple.

Thus all five rites—viz. the daily temple liturgy, the ceremonial toilet in the House of the Morning, the preparation of the dead king's body for burial, the daily funerary liturgy, and the Opening of the Mouth—closely resemble one another in their main features. These features are a lustral washing, with which are closely associated the burning of incense and the offering of balls of natron. This initial purification was followed by the robing and anointing of the object of the rite, the

arraying of him (or her) in ornaments and the investing of him (or her) with royal insignia. The proceedings terminated, probably in all cases, with the serving up of a repast. In the case of the daily funerary liturgy the acts above described were simulated, as the cultus-object was inaccessible.¹

The **Fifth Meeting** of the Society was held at the University, in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 13th, 1919, the President in the chair. Mr. T. Eric Peet delivered an address on "New Light on Ancient Mining in Sinai." The lecturer had addressed the Society on the subject of Sinai and its mines some five years previously, but in 1914 he had had the opportunity of working over with Dr. A. H. Gardiner, for purposes of publication, the inscriptions found in Sinai by Professor Petrie's expedition in 1906. The present lecture was an attempt to show to what extent the translation and study of the inscriptions (hitherto not fully studied) enabled us to fill out or to modify our previous views on the subject.

The lecturer said that the Egyptian records as far back as the First Dynasty show mining expeditions to the peninsula of Sinai, in search of Mefkat (Mfk3t). There had been a controversy as to what Mefkat might be. The lecturer gave a sketch of this, concluding that it was apparently turquoise but might also include other minerals of a light blue colour.

The turquoise of Sinai deteriorates very rapidly when exposed to the light. It was probable that the Egyptians used it chiefly as a colouring matter for their glazes and paints, after crushing it down. Nevertheless a certain amount of Sinaitic turquoise is still sold yearly as a gem. Turquoise is found in bead form in prehistoric graves, but not commonly. Sneferu, the last king of the Third Dynasty, was a most energetic miner in Sinai, and was specially venerated there down to late times. In connection with this question of the *object* of the mining, it

¹ The above statements are based on the following articles:—"Lustrations and the Heliopolitan Sun-God," in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xl., pp. 57-66, 86-91; "Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead," in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. v., pp. 117-124; "The House of the Morning," in *op. cit.*, pp. 148-165; see also *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxxix., pp. 44-78.

is interesting to note the story of how this king was rowed in the royal barge by twenty beautiful maidens. One dropped her hair ornament into the water. The king promised her a new one, but she replied: "But I want my own, it was of mfk3t m3t"—*i.e.* new turquoise. The commentators on this text have generally been puzzled over this expression, and considering it a scribe's error have substituted the word m3't, maat, true or real, for m3t, new. This correction is unnecessary, in view of the known deterioration of the Sinai turquoise, and the girl's remark may be taken as a strengthening of the view that turquoise was the substance for which Sneferu mined, and that it was not always crushed down. In the famous bracelets from the tomb of Zer, of the First Dynasty, turquoise is freely used as a gem. From later periods there are no certain examples in existence. Monsieur Vernier, the expert who compiled the Cairo catalogue of jewellery, states in every later case, even that of the Dahshur jewellery of the Twelfth Dynasty, that he is uncertain whether the turquoise is natural or artificial, made of ground turquoise and glass-moulded.¹

With regard to copper it is certain that it was mined in Sinai in early times, though it is impossible to say whether the miners were Egyptian. Only one inscription out of over three hundred mentions copper.

It is not certainly known what name the Egyptians gave to the country. On a stele in the British Museum, Bia is given as a source of turquoise and may be therefore the name of Sinai. The word Bia occurs in several of the Sinai inscriptions, but it has hitherto received a more general translation, "mountain country," or "mining district."

In the story of the shipwrecked sailor the hero begins his tale with the words: "I went down to Bia for [or "of"] my lord," which makes it appear that it was a place approached by sea (a usual route to Sinai). The letter from King Pepi II. to the noble Harkhuf, who brought him a dwarf, states that "his majesty desires to see this dwarf more than the gifts of Bia and of Punt."

¹ Probably, therefore, the same doubt hangs over the turquoise in the jewellery from Riqqeh, now in the Manchester Museum.

The deities chiefly worshipped by the Egyptians in Sinai were Hathor, the goddess of the Temple at Serabît—the Lady of Turquoise; Thoth, god of cooling streams, traces of whose worship are found earlier than that of Hathor; Sopdu, lord of the East. The occurrence of Sopdu in Sinai has generally been attributed to the fact that he was the god of that part of the Delta through which one passed on the way to Sinai. Gardiner has lately shown that the connection may be closer than this. He proves that the Delta town Pi-Sopdu (a seat of Sopdu worship) is identical with the town whose name has for long been (wrongly) rendered Goshen or Geshem, and should be Shesem. Now shesemt is the name of a very ornate apron worn by Sopdu, and shesemt is also the name of a mineral mentioned in the inscriptions of Sinai as having been found there. It may therefore be that the town of Sheshem (old Goshen) derives its name from Sopdu, Lord of the Shesemt-Land (Sinai). This, however, is in the region of conjecture.

King Sneferu also was worshipped at Sinai. Petrie's theory was that the Egyptians in Sinai followed the native (Semitic) manner of worship and gave to the local goddess (possibly Ishtar) the name of their goddess Hathor. He considered that all the ritual that can be traced is Semitic. He instances specially (1) steles; (2) burnt sacrifices; (3) ablutions. The lecturer differed from Petrie as to the conclusions to be drawn from these instances.

(1) As to the steles. They are nearly all surrounded by rough rings of stones piled upon the ground. Other rings or rectangular arrangements of stone are found without steles. Often an irregular slab of sandstone is set upright propped by other stones. Rectangular groups of such stones are found. Petrie calls these upright stones Bethels—*i.e.* stones set up to commemorate dreams. The enclosures, he thinks, were sleeping-places. The miner would implore the goddess Hathor to aid him by revealing in a dream the locality of the turquoise. He would pass the night on the hill-side near the temple, and if the wished-for dream came, would raise, as did Jacob, a stone, as a memorial, or would have an inscribed

stele set up. Mr. Peet remarked that the great drawback to this theory was the fact that though revelation by dreams was common in Egypt, not a single inscription on these stones has any reference to a dream or any thanks to Hathor for aid in finding turquoise. Nearly all the inscriptions commemorate the various expeditions to Sinai: others are of a more private nature, recording that such and such an official had been present in such and such a year.

These steles were generally inscribed on all four sides. This, says Petrie, "is rare in Egypt, where steles are, as a rule, funerary, though sometimes religious and placed in temples; none are known as monuments of devotion in a place which is neither a temple nor a tomb." Obelisks, however, Mr. Peet points out, were used in Egypt in the latter case, and these are inscribed on all four sides.

(2) Burnt sacrifices. Underneath the later temple of Hathor Petrie found a great bed of ashes—amounting to about 50 tons and at least 100×50 feet in area. His solution is that this is the remains of burnt sacrifices before the entrance to the older sacred place. Burnt sacrifices on high places, he adds, are quite un-Egyptian, and very few instances of burnt offerings at all are known in Egypt, with the exception of incense, and those few instances are evidently due to foreign influence. The lecturer considered that the attribution of these ash heaps to burnt sacrifice was purely hypothetical, and that, even supposing it to be correct, burnt sacrifice was by no means unknown in Egypt, where there was actually a phrase (*sbt-n-šdt*) meaning "burnt sacrifice."

Finally, as to ablutions. This, said Mr. Peet, was absolutely Egyptian. Tanks have been found at Zawyet el Aryan, the Osireion at Abydos and elsewhere.

Members who heard Mr. Blackman's address in March will have fresh in their minds the important part played by ceremonial washings in the daily ritual of the temples.

It seemed then, to Mr. Peet, that the Semitic character of the worship at Sinai was far from proved.

SPECIAL PAPERS
& ARTICLES

WEST WALL

NORTH WALL

7=M.27	6=M.26.				5=M.25.	4=M.24.	3=M.23.	2=M.22.
IX=M.9.	VIII=M.8.	VII=M.7.	VI=M.6.	V=M.5.	IV=M.4.	III=M.3.	II=M.2.	

1=M.21.	1=M.1.
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8=M.28.	FALSE DOOR	9=M.29.
18=M.10.		22=M.11.

17=M.36.	28=M.20.
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10=M.30.	11=M.31.				12,13=M.32.	14=M.33.	15=M.34.	16=M.35.
27=M.12.	26=M.13.	25=M.14.	24=M.15.	23=M.16.	21=M.17.	20=M.18.	19=M.19.	

SOUTH WALL

Plan showing normal order of episodes on walls of Abydos chapels
M. stands for Mariette, tableau

THE SEQUENCE OF THE EPISODES IN THE EGYPTIAN DAILY TEMPLE LITURGY

BY AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN,

THIS question has been treated of in some detail by von Lemm in *Das Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes*, and has also been touched upon by Erman in *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (English trans., pp. 45 foll.), but it has received most attention at the hands of Moret in his very learned work entitled *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*. This consists of a transcription into hieroglyphic of the Berlin hieratic papyrus No. 3055,¹ the so-called *Ritual for Amūn*, and an accompanying translation and commentary. With several of Monsieur Moret's conclusions I do not find myself in agreement. I cannot, for example, accept his theory that there was a twofold performance of the pre-toilet section of the daily temple liturgy.² Furthermore, despite its position in the *Ritual for Amūn*, I believe him to be mistaken in associating the pouring out of sand with the replacement of the statue in the shrine³ and also in regarding what appear as the last seven episodes in that *Ritual* as "final purifications."⁴ On the contrary, I maintain that the pouring out of the sand was one of the last of the pre-toilet episodes, and that six of these "final purifications," as also the episode immediately preceding them, belong to quite the beginning of the toilet, having been placed at the end of this version of the temple service-book by a scribe utterly ignorant or heedless of their real purport.

I have pointed out in two recent articles⁵ that the preparation of the dead Egyptian king's body for burial, the Opening of the

¹ See below, p. 31 with footnote 20.

² Moret, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 foll.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 200 foll.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 203 foll.

⁵ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v., pp. 118-124, 148-165.

Mouth and the daily funerary liturgy were all based upon the ceremonial toilet of the Heliopolitan king, performed daily at dawn in the so-called House of the Morning (*pr-dw3t*), an adjunct of the Heliopolitan palace and sun-temple, before he entered that temple to officiate as high priest. This toilet was in its turn based upon the lustration which the sun-god, of whom the Heliopolitan king was the embodiment, was supposed daily to undergo before he appeared above the eastern horizon.




The ceremonial toilet of the ancient Heliopolitan kings is probably preserved in what is nearest to its original form in the closely related Opening of the Mouth, a rite performed in the first instance on behalf of the dead king's statue.⁶ The following is a list of what we might call the toilet episodes of the Opening of the Mouth,⁷ in the order of their occurrence:—

1. Placing the statue upon a mound of sand with its face to the south.⁸
2. Preliminary censuring of the statue.⁹
3. Sprinkling of the statue with the water of the four *nms*-vessels.
4. Sprinkling of the statue with the water of the four *d3rt*-vessels.
5. Presentation to the statue of five balls of Upper Egyptian natron of El-Kab for the purification of its mouth.
6. Presentation to the statue of five balls of Lower Egyptian natron of Wādi-en-Natrūn for the same purpose.
7. Presentation to the statue of five balls of incense.
8. Fumigation of the statue with burning incense.

After a number of episodes peculiar to the Opening of the Mouth the toilet was resumed.

9. Arraying the statue in the white head-cloth called *nms*.

The statue was now wrapped in, or possibly just presented with, five different coloured cloths. These cloths doubtless represent the various articles of apparel in which the ancient king was arrayed in the House of the Morning.

10. Arraying the statue in the *st3w*-cloth (  ).
11. Arraying the statue in the white cloth (*mnht hdt*).
12. Arraying the statue in the green cloth (*mnht w3dt*).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 158 foll.

⁷ Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, ii., pp. 1-11, 40-65; Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, i., pp. 22-49; ii., pp. 9-79.

⁸ See below, pp. 34 foll.

⁹ According to the version on the coffin of *Bweth3-lmn* (Budge, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 2; Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, i., p. 28), and the papyrus of *St3-wd* (*Annales du Service*, xiii., p. 259).

13. Arraying the statue in the red cloth (*mnht ins*).
14. Arraying the statue in the great cloth (*mnht '3t*) or dark red cloth (*mnht tdm*).
15. Arraying the statue in the broad collar (*wsb*).
16. Anointing the statue with unguent (*mdt*).
17. Painting the statue's eyelids with green cosmetic.
18. Painting the statue's eyelids with black cosmetic (*msdm*).

The statue was now presented with various insignia.

19. Presentation of the sceptre called *3ms*.
20. Presentation, according to the *Bwth3-imn* version, of the sceptre called *hb*, according to the other versions, of the pear-shaped mace called *hd*.
21. Presentation of the flat-topped mace called *mnw*.¹⁰
- 22, 23. Final censuring of the statue, first by the *Sem* priest and then by the "courtiers."

That this must have been the original order of the episodes in the ceremonial toilet of the Predynastic king of Heliopolis is shown by the representations we possess of the Rite of the House of the Morning¹¹ and also by the inscriptions accompanying these representations¹² or occurring independently of them.¹³

From them we learn that the king was sprinkled with holy water and his mouth purified with natron, and that either before or after this mouth-purification he was fumigated with burning incense. Then the rest of his toilet was performed—i.e. he was robed (probably also anointed, etc.), crowned, and invested with various insignia.

None of the representations of the Rite of the House of the Morning now preserved in any completeness are earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the rite was just a purification undergone by the Pharaoh before he officiated in any temple. It was naturally at that period not the long and elaborate performance of early times, when it was the king's actual daily morning toilet as well as an important religious ceremony; indeed many of the episodes performed at length anciently seem later to have been omitted or merely simulated or hinted at.¹⁴

In the preparation of the dead king's body for burial, a rite which, as already stated, is based upon that of the House of the

¹⁰ See Mace-Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 102 foll.

¹¹ Kees, *Recueil de Travaux*, xxxvi., pp. 7 foll. For other references see *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xl., p. 87., footnote 91.

¹² Kees, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v., p. 148.

¹⁴ On this point see Kees, *op. cit.*, xxxvi., pp. 10 foll.

Morning, the washing of the corpse¹⁵ preceded the wrapping of it and the simultaneous smearing of both it and the bandages with gums and unguents,¹⁶ which two last processes correspond to the clothing and anointing of the living king in his daily ceremonial toilet.

Again in the daily funerary liturgy episodes simulating the washing of the king and the purification of his mouth with natron¹⁷ were enacted before the offering of the ceremonial garments, royal insignia, unguents and cosmetics.¹⁸ As I have shown in a previous article,¹⁹ a large part of the daily temple liturgy bears a close resemblance to the Rite of the House of the Morning. I there pointed out that the reason for this resemblance is that both rites imitate the same performance, the supposed daily matutinal lustration of the sun-god—the cultus-image of the god undergoing lustration every day at dawn, as the god himself was said to do. That the other toilet episodes of the Rite of the House of the Morning—robing, anointing, crowning, etc.—had their equivalents in the daily temple liturgy is due to the fact that the god was regarded as a king, indeed as the prototype of all the Heliopolitan kings. Accordingly the ideas about the god and the king and the ceremonies performed on their behalf acted and reacted on one another.

In the great temple of Sethos Ist at Abydos the walls of the chapels of Horsiëse, Isis, Osiris-Onnophris, Amün, Atum and Ptah are adorned with a series of reliefs representing the daily temple liturgy being performed. Accompanying each relief is the formula recited by the priest while the particular episode depicted was being enacted. Except for an occasional omission due to lack of space, the same episodes are depicted in all six chapels, and, with trifling varieties, they follow one another in the same order. The various versions of the accompanying

¹⁵ The representations of the washing of the corpse are practically identical with those of the washing of the living king in the House of the Morning; see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v., pp. 118, 123 foll., 157 foll.

¹⁶ Herodotos, ii. 68; Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, p. 300.

¹⁷ Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (hereafter cited as *Pyr.*), 2222-2227.

¹⁸ *Pyr.*, 2241-2255.

¹⁹ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v., p. 162; see also my forthcoming article, "Osirian Lustrations" (under "Summary of Article 1") in *Recueil de Travaux*, xxxix.

formulae likewise present very few and quite unimportant divergences. We thus possess what amounts to a complete and fully illustrated version of the daily temple liturgy as performed at Abydos during the New Kingdom.

The six versions of the formulae and of the representations which they accompany are published by Mariette in his *Abydos*, i., pp. 34-76.

Another version of the daily temple liturgy, that celebrated on behalf of Amūn of Karnak, is preserved to us in papyrus No. 3055 of the Berlin Museum.²⁰ This MS., which dates from the Twenty-Second Dynasty, is a collection of the formulae pronounced during the enactment of the various episodes of the daily temple liturgy. The title of each formula, "Utterance for such and such an act," clearly shows to what episode it belongs. For the sake of brevity I shall, when referring to this composition, speak of it as the Karnak liturgy.

It should here be noted that the Abydos and Karnak liturgies are merely different editions of the same service-book. Thus the formulae for the toilet episodes are practically identical in both cases; also when the pre-toilet episodes of the one edition correspond with those of the other edition, the accompanying formulae are often either the same or have points in common.

As we have seen, the toilet episodes occur in the same order in the rites derived from the Rite of the House of the Morning as in that rite itself. We should accordingly expect to find them in the same order in the closely related daily temple liturgy. It is therefore somewhat disconcerting to find, according to Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 18, that after a prefatory anointing of the cultus-image (see below, pp. 43, 52) and the taking off of its clothing of the previous day (Mariette, *op. cit.*, tab. 9), the officiant arrayed it in the white head-cloth (Mar., tab. 10 = Opening of the Mouth, episode 9) and then in the great cloth (Mar. tab. 11 = Opening of the Mouth, episode 14). Having anointed the image with unguent (Mar., tab. 12 = Opening of

²⁰ *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, i., *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut*; Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*.

the Mouth, episode 16), decked it with various ornaments, and presented it with royal insignia (Mar., tab. 13-16 = Opening of the Mouth, episodes 15, 19-21), the officiant proceeded to clothe it in red, green and white cloths successively (Mar., tab. 17-19), whereas, according to the Opening of the Mouth, and also the Karnak liturgy, the order is white, green and red (Opening of the Mouth, episodes 11-13). After various performances, breaking the clay seal, drawing back the bolts of the sanctuary door, opening the door, seeing the god, etc. (Mar., tab. 21 foll.), performances which one would have expected to occur at the beginning of the service, as indeed they do in the Karnak liturgy, the officiant concluded the god's toilet and the liturgy by sprinkling the cultus-image with water, purifying it with natron and fumigating it with incense (Mar., tab. 32-36), though these last-named episodes in all the other related rites were enacted at the beginning of the toilet.

It looks, therefore, as if Mariette, in drawing up his list of episodes, had begun at the wrong place on the walls.

The sketch plan on plate shows what I presume to be the normal order of the episodes on the walls of the Abydos chapels. This order is based upon Mariette's numbering of the episodes, his statement in *Abydos*, i., p. 57 top, and upon the photographs on pls. XVI.-XXIII., of Capart's *Le Temple de Sêti I^{er}*, especially those on pls. XVI., XXII. and XXIII. On constructional grounds²¹ the arrangement of the episodes in the chapel of Osiris is not the normal one. It is unfortunate for our purpose, therefore, that it is only in the case of this chapel that Capart gives views of the whole of the north and south walls. In the case of the chapel of Amūn he only publishes views of the west wall and west end of the north and south walls. In the latter chapel²² the whole of the west half of the upper register on the north wall is occupied by episode 6²³ (Mar., tab. 26), so that episodes 7 and 8 (Mar., tab. 27, 28) have to be depicted on the north and south sides of the false

²¹ See Mar., *op. cit.*, i. 18.

²² See Capart, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII., XXIII.

²³ *I.e.* 6 according to my numbering of the episodes in the plan and on pp. 34, 48.

door respectively.²⁴ But in another chapel, that of Osiris, an episode is inserted between No. 6 and the west wall.²⁵ Accordingly we may assume that the normal arrangement of episodes 7-9 is that of my plan. That episodes 18 and 22 (Mar., tab. 10 and 11 respectively) are depicted in the lower register on either side of the false door appears from Capart, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI., as well as from Mariette's numbering of them.

According to what seems to be the normal arrangement in the chapels—*i.e.* that adopted in my plan—Mariette's tab. 1-9 occupy the lower register on the east wall north of the door and on the north wall; tab. 10 and 11 the lower register on either side of the false door in the west wall; and tab. 12-20 the lower register on the south wall and east wall south of the door. Again, tab. 21-36 beginning in the upper register on the east wall north of the door and continuing along the north, west and south walls, end up on the east wall south of the door.

I would suggest that we begin with the scene in the top instead of in the bottom register of the east wall north of the door, and then follow this register round the room to where it ends on the east wall south of the door. We shall then find that as far as this register takes us the toilet episodes follow one another in practically the same order as they do in the four related rites. We shall also see later that the Abydos liturgy closely corresponds with the Karnak liturgy as regards the order of the pre-toilet episodes.

The episodes occupying the upper register, beginning, as suggested, with the one depicted at the north end of the east wall, are as follows:—

<i>Episodes</i>	<i>Mariette's "tableaux"</i>	<i>Wall</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formulae</i>
1	21	East (north end)	Utterance for breaking the clay seal.*
2	22	North	Utterance for drawing back the bolt.
3	23	„	Utterance for opening the two doors.†
4	24	„	Utterance for seeing the god.
5	25	„	Utterance for kissing the ground, placing oneself upon the belly to touch the ground with one's (<i>lit.</i> his) fingers when entering in upon the god.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. XVI.


²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. XIX.

<i>Episodes</i>	<i>Mariette's "tableaux"</i>	<i>Wall</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formule</i>
6	26	North	Offering incense in front (of the god) with a censer.
7	27	„	Adoring the god four times, offering incense when entering the palace (<i>stp-s3</i>).
8	28	West (north side of false door)	Adoring the goddess ‡ four times.
9	29	West (south side of false door)	Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling four times.
10	30	South	Performing the pouring out of sand.
11	31	„	Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling four times.
12, 13	32	„	Making purification with a 'vessel of cool water, with four balls of incense.
14	33	„	Making purification with four balls of Lower Egyptian natron of Wādy en-Natrūn.
15	34	„	Making purification with four balls of Upper Egyptian natron of El-Kab.
16	35	„	Making purification with four balls of <i>bd</i> -natron.
17	36	East (south end)	Offering incense on the fire, encircling four times.

* *I.e.* the clay seal affixed to the bolts of the sanctuary or shrine doors (see *Piankhi stèle*, lines 104 foll. ; von Lemm, *Das Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes*, pp. 25 foll.).


† *I.e.* the double doors of the sanctuary or shrine (see below, p. 51, footnote 42).

‡ *I.e.* *R'yt*, the female counterpart of the sun-god and identified with Hathor (see below, p. 52).

It will be seen at once that the episodes 10-17 of the Abydos liturgy, according to my numbering of them, closely correspond to Nos. 1-8 of the toilet episodes in the Opening of the Mouth. In the last-mentioned rite, before the commencement of the actual toilet, the officiant placed the statue upon a mound of sand, generally depicted as an oval coloured pink with red spots.²⁶ In his tomb-chapel at Thebes the dead Sennofre is depicted standing upon a little mound of sand²⁷ while four lustrators pour water over him. The mound in this case is not in the form of an oval, but of the two-hills sign () which, combined with ☉, constitutes the symbol for the horizon. The scene in question depicts, not an episode in the Opening of the

²⁶ Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, p. 58 ; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, i., p. 15.

²⁷ Virey, *Recueil de Travaux*, xxii., p. 91.

Mouth, but the washing of the corpse during embalmment. I have suggested in my forthcoming article "Osirian Lustrations," referred to above, on p. 30, footnote 19, that Sennofre is here represented as emerging, like the sun-god, reborn from the horizon as the result of undergoing lustration. As we have seen, the lustral washing of the statue in the Opening of the Mouth imitates the same performance as the washing of the corpse during embalmment—viz. the daily matutinal ablutions of the sun-god. Possibly, therefore, the oval-shaped mound of sand, no less than the -shaped one, typifies the eastern hills, above which the Egyptians saw the sun rise every morning. If so, it was very appropriate both in the Opening of the Mouth and in the daily temple liturgy for the cultus-object to be placed on a little pile of sand before the lustration took place. Anyhow, in view of its position therein, it can hardly be doubted that the "pouring out of sand" in the Abydos liturgy represents the same ritual act as the placing of the statue upon a mound of sand in the Opening of the Mouth.

The few differences between Abydos episodes II-17 and Nos. 2-8 of the toilet episodes in the Opening of the Mouth are as follows:—

In the Abydos liturgy one 'vessel of water was employed for the washing of the cultus-image instead of the four *nmst*- and four *dšrt*-vessels used in the Rite of Opening the Mouth. In the Abydos liturgy the image, after the lustration, was fumigated with burning incense; in the Opening of the Mouth this act was omitted. In this last-mentioned rite the purification with natron of Upper Egypt preceded (rightly) the purification with that of Lower Egypt; in the Abydos liturgy the order is reversed. Finally in the Opening of the Mouth, after the purification with the above-mentioned varieties of natron, the statue was presented with five balls of incense, whereas in the Abydos liturgy four balls of *bd*-natron are substituted for the incense.

Now for the episodes of the Abydos liturgy depicted in the lower register of scenes. A number of questions arise in connection with the sequence of the episodes in this register,

and until they have been dealt with the list cannot be continued.

In the first place, are we to return to the north side of the chapel and begin, as in the case of the upper register, with the scene on the east wall north of the entrance? According to the Opening of the Mouth, the next five episodes consist in the arraying of the statue in the white head-cloth *nms*, the *sîw*-cloth, and the white, green, red and dark red or great cloths. In the Abydos chapels the reliefs depicting the arraying of the cultus-image in the white, green and red cloths are on the eastern half of the south wall (Mar., tab. 19, 18, 17), the first of the series (tab. 19) being at the extreme east end of the wall. Evidently, therefore, the starting-point of the episodes in the lower register is somewhere near the south-east corner of each room, just below where we came to the end of the scenes in the upper register. We should expect the clothing of the statue in the white head-cloth and *sîw*-cloth to precede the clothing of it in the other above-mentioned cloths, as is the case in the Opening of the Mouth, and thus to be depicted on the east wall south of the entrance.

As a matter of fact, however, the episode of the *sîw*-cloth occurs neither in the Abydos nor in the Karnak liturgy. Furthermore, the lower register on the east wall south of the door is occupied with a representation (28), not, as one would expect, of the arraying of the cultus-image in the white head-cloth, but of the removal by the officiant of his footprints on the floor, which act, being closely associated with his departure from the sanctuary,²⁸ was depicted beside the door on the south side (see below, p. 45). Thus the putting on of the white head-cloth had to be depicted elsewhere, and the place which the sculptor thought best suited to the dimensions of the scene and the not very long accompanying formula was the lower register on the north side of the false door (west wall).

The order of the first three episodes in the lower register of the south wall—viz. the clothing of the cultus-image in

²⁸ See Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i., p. 27 with footnote 4; ii., p. 17^a, pp. 20 and 21 with footnote 1; see also Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 93 foll.

the white, green and red cloths successively (19-21 = Mar., tab. 19, 18, 17)—is, as already pointed out, the same as in the Opening of the Mouth and also as in the Karnak liturgy (see below, p. 50).

The next episode should, according to the Opening of the Mouth, be the clothing of the cultus-image in the dark red or great cloth. The Karnak liturgy also makes this episode follow immediately after the putting on of the red cloth. But in the Abydos chapels the episode depicted next to the clothing of the cultus-image in the red cloth is the decking of it with the broad collar (*wsẖ*), which last-named episode *follows* the putting on of the dark red or great cloth in the Opening of the Mouth. In apparently all the Abydos chapels except that of Osiris²⁹ the putting on of the dark red or great cloth is depicted on the west wall south of the false door (see plate).

Possibly this misplacement is due to the sculptor regarding the scene as better suited than any other to the narrow space on the south side of the false door. If it had been put in its proper place next to 21, and the other scenes had followed in due order, the narrow space on the west wall would have been occupied by episode 27 (= Mar., tab. 12), an impossible arrangement, as the accompanying formula consists of twenty lines of text.³⁰

In the actual performance of the Abydos liturgy, however, the sequence of episodes was no doubt the same as in the Karnak liturgy and in the Opening of the Mouth. Therefore, despite its position, the clothing of the statue in the dark red cloth should appear in the list as episode 22, the putting on of the broad collar being numbered 23.

According to the reliefs in the Abydos chapels, the priest now presented the statue with the counterpoise (*m'nḥt*)³¹ of the broad collar, and an object called *sšpt*, which is conventionally represented ⚡ and probably has some connection with the collar. This episode (Mar., tab. 15) does not occur in the

²⁹ See Mariette, *Abydos*, i., p. 44; Capart, *Temple de Sêti*, Ier, pl. XX.

³⁰ See Capart, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII.

³¹ See Mace-Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, p. 46, footnote 5.

Opening of the Mouth or in the Karnak liturgy, but in view of the nature of certainly one of the objects the place assigned it is the natural one.

The priest next placed the two plumes on the head of the cultus-image (Mar., tab. 14)—there is no corresponding episode in the Opening of the Mouth or the Karnak liturgy—and then adorned it with bracelets and anklets, and invested it with the *w3s*-staff, crook and whip (Mar., tab. 13). The priest now anointed the cultus-image with ointment (Mar., tab. 12). There is no putting on of bracelets and anklets either in the Opening of the Mouth or in the Karnak liturgy. In the former of these two rites the anointing of the statue took place immediately after the arraying of it in the broad collar and before the investing of it with royal insignia (*3ms*-sceptre, pear-shaped mace and flat-topped mace). In the Abydos chapels, owing to the lack of space, the decking of the statue with the last article of body adornment and the investing of it with the royal insignia had to be combined in one episode, and this episode had to precede the anointing, for otherwise the sequence of the episodes devoted to the putting on of the body ornaments would have been interrupted.

In the Opening of the Mouth the anointing of the statue was immediately followed by the painting of its eyelids first with green and then with black cosmetic, and these episodes follow one another in the same order in the Karnak liturgy. In the Abydos chapels, doubtless owing to lack of space, the painting of the eyelids is not depicted.

The last episode of all in the Abydos liturgy was the removal of the footprints (Mar., tab. 20), which is depicted, for the reason stated above, p. 36,³² on the south side of the chapel, beside the entrance.

As a result of this discussion we are now able to fix with some certainty the sequence of those episodes of the Abydos liturgy that are depicted in the lower register on the east wall south of the door, and on the south and west walls, and so continue our interrupted list.

³² See also below, p. 45.







<i>Episode</i>	<i>Mariette's "tableaux"</i>	<i>Wall</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formulae</i>
18	10	West (north of false door)	Utterance for adorning (<i>sm'r</i>) the body with the <i>nms</i> .
19	19	South	Utterance for putting on the white cloth.
20	18	„	Utterance for putting on the green cloth.
21	17	„	Utterance for putting on the red cloth.
22	11	West (south of false door)	Utterance for putting on the great cloth after these.
23	16	South	Utterance for giving the broad collar.
24	15	„	Giving the <i>sšpt</i> and counterpoise.
25	14	„	Utterance for fixing the two plumes on the head.
26	13	„	Utterance for giving the <i>wšs</i> -sceptre, crook, whip, bracelets and anklets.
27	12	„	Utterance for presenting the unguent.
28	20	East wall (south end)	Utterance for removing the foot(-prints) with the (brush of) <i>hšd</i> -plant.

I have not yet discussed the scenes in the lower register on the north wall and east wall north of the entrance, Mariette's tab. 1-9. Before doing so I propose to deal with the pre-toilet episodes of the Karnak liturgy.

The sequence of the episodes in the Karnak liturgy, according to the Berlin papyrus No. 3055, is as follows; when there are alternative formulæ for one episode they are marked *a*, *b*, etc. :

KARNAK LITURGY

<i>Episodes</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formulae</i>
1	Utterance for lighting the fire.
2	Utterance for taking the censer.
3	Utterance for placing the brazier on the censer.
4	Utterance for putting incense on the fire.
5	<i>a</i> . Utterance for advancing to the holy place (<i>bw ḡsr</i>). <i>b</i> . Another utterance.
6	<i>a</i> . Utterance for breaking the net <i>sic</i> (<i>išdt</i>). [*] <i>b</i> . Utterance for breaking the clay.

^{*} *išdt*    is the ordinary word for "net." In the corresponding formula at Abydos, however, the word is written   *išd*, which, judging from the determinative , means "mud," "clay" (see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, suppl. p. 169). Possibly the scribe who wrote this copy of the Karnak liturgy, or a previous copyist, did not know the apparently rare word *išd* "mud," and so wrote in its place *i'šdt* "net," a word with which he was familiar. He would be all the more inclined to do this for the following reasons. The bolts of the sanctuary or shrine doors (see below, p. 51, footnote 42) seem often to have been tied with a twist or strip of

<i>Episodes</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formulae</i>
7	Utterance for unfastening the shrine.
8	Utterance for uncovering the face.
9	Utterance for seeing the god.
10	a. Utterance for kissing the ground. b. Utterance for putting (oneself) upon the belly. c. Utterance for putting (oneself) upon the belly, for stretching (oneself) out flat. d. Utterance for kissing the ground prone. e. Another. f. Another.
11	a. Utterance for adoring Amūn. b. Another adoration.
12	Utterance for festival perfume (<i>sty-hb</i>) with honey.
13	Utterance for incense.
I.	Utterance for entering the temple.
II.	a. Utterance for entering the sanctuary (<i>shn</i>) of the god. b. Another utterance. c. Utterance for mounting the stairway.
III.	a. Utterance for uncovering the face at festivals. b. Utterance for uncovering the face.
IV.	Utterance for seeing the god.
V.	a. Utterance for kissing the ground. b. Utterance for putting oneself upon the belly. c. Utterance for putting oneself upon the belly, for stretching oneself out flat. d. Utterance for kissing the ground prone. e. Another. f. Another.
VI.	a. Utterance for incense. b. Another.
VII.	a. Adoration of Amūn. b. Another. c. Another. d. Another adoration of Amūn. e. Another adoration of Amūn at dawn.
VIII.	Utterance for presenting Mē'et.
IX.	Utterance for incense to the Ennead.
X.	Utterance for laying his (the priest's) hands upon the god.
XI.	Utterance for laying hands upon the box in order to perform the purification.
14	Utterance for purification with four <i>nmst</i> -vessels of water.

papyrus, to which the clay seal was then affixed (see von Lemm, *Das Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes*, p. 27). The scribe may well have considered this twist of papyrus to represent symbolically a net in which the god, shut up in the sanctuary or shrine, was caught, and from which he must be released, just as the bolt itself was symbolically regarded as the finger of the murderous Sēth thrust into the eye of Horus (*cf.* Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, pp. 38 foll.). Anyhow, as von Lemm, *op. cit.*, p. 25, maintains, formulae 6a and 6b belong to one episode—namely, the loosening of the seal affixed to the bolts which fastened the double doors of the sanctuary or shrine.

<i>Episodes</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formulæ</i>
15	Making purification with four <i>dšrt</i> -vessels of water.
16	Making purification with incense.
17	a. Utterance for the white cloth. b. Utterance for putting on the cloth.
18	Utterance for putting on the green cloth.
19	Utterance for putting on the red cloth.
20	Utterance for putting on the dark red cloth.
21	a. Utterance for presenting unguent. b. Utterance for presenting the unguent of the daily offering.
22	Utterance for presenting green eye-cosmetic.
23	Utterance for presenting black eye-cosmetic (<i>msdm</i>).
24	Utterance for pouring out sand.
25	Utterance for natron (<i>smn</i>), encircling four times.
26	Utterance for the 'vessel of natron.
27	Utterance for the 'vessel of incense.
28	Making purification.
29	Utterance for natron (<i>smn</i>).
30	Utterance for the 'vessel of water.
31	Utterance for incense. *
32	Utterance for fumigation with 'ntyw-incense.

Except for episodes 1-5 and 12, which are peculiar to it, the first part of the Karnak liturgy, episodes 1-13, corresponds pretty closely with the first part of the Abydos liturgy, episodes 1-9. Karnak formulæ 6a and 6b are almost certainly utterances for one episode,³³ which is the equivalent of Abydos episode 1. Karnak episode 7 is the same as Abydos episode 2, as the identity of the respective formulæ shows. Karnak episodes 8 and 9 correspond to Abydos episodes 3 and 4, Karnak episode 10, which possesses six alternative formulæ, to Abydos episode 5, Karnak episode 11, with its two variant formulæ, to Abydos episodes 7 and 8, and Karnak episode 13 to Abydos 9.³⁴

The next eleven episodes are numbered with Roman, instead of with Arabic, numerals, for a reason that will appear shortly.

We should expect the toilet episodes to begin at this point in the Karnak liturgy, as they do in the Abydos liturgy. On

³³ See above, p. 40, footnote.

³⁴ It will be observed that at Abydos incense was burnt before and after the "adoring" of the god and goddess (episodes 6-9). In the corresponding part of the Karnak rite the preliminary burning of incense was omitted, and between the "adoring" and the subsequent burning of incense (episode 13) was inserted the offering of scented honey (episode 12). However, the "adoring" is preceded by the burning of incense in the corresponding part of the alternative version of the Karnak liturgy and followed by the presentation of the figure of Mē'et and a further burning of incense—the figure of Mē'et taking the place of the scented honey of the first version.

the contrary, we find that the formula for episode I. is entitled "Utterance for entering the temple," and that episode II. has variant formulæ, two of which are entitled "Utterance for entering the sanctuary of the god," and the other "Utterance for ascending the stairway." Thus these two episodes are to all intents and purposes repetitions of episode 5. Again, episode III., the uncovering by the officiant of the god's face, is equivalent to 8, and episodes IV. and V., "seeing the god," and "kissing the ground," to 9 and 10. Finally, the episodes VI.-IX., the burning of incense, adoration of Amūn, offering of a figure of Mē'et, and another burning of incense, are the equivalents of episodes 11-13.

It looks, therefore, as if we had to do with two separate versions of the daily temple liturgy—the difference between them being confined to the pre-toilet episodes, as the fact that there is only one series of toilet episodes seems to show. When the same pre-toilet episodes occur, as we have seen they do, in both versions, their respective formulæ are sometimes identical; thus formula *b* of episode III. and the formulæ of episodes IV. and V. are the same as those of the corresponding episodes 8, 9 and 10.

At some time or other it was thought desirable to combine these two different versions of the pre-toilet episodes. But instead of completely blending them—namely, by placing the formulæ belonging to the same episodes in both versions next to one another (of course eliminating duplicates), and at the same time putting or keeping in their right order the formulæ belonging to episodes peculiar to one of the versions—the compiler first copied out all the pre-toilet formulæ of the one version and then tacked on to them all the pre-toilet formulæ of the other version, quite regardless of the fact that some of the latter formulæ were merely duplicates. This explanation of the break in the sequence of events caused by episodes I.-XI. is, I think, much more satisfactory than that of Moret (*op. cit.*, p. 82), who regards episode I. as just a general sum-up of, or substitute for, the preceding episodes 6-13, and who maintains (*op. cit.*, p. 102 foll.) that after it, or they, had been enacted, the

priest left the sanctuary for a few moments and then, re-entering it, began the rite all over again.

To return to the Abydos chapels. The following episodes, also numbered with Roman numerals, are depicted in the lower register on the east wall (north end) and north wall :—

<i>Episode</i>	<i>Mariette's "tableaux"</i>	<i>Wall</i>	<i>Titles of the accompanying formule</i>
I.	I	East (north end)	Utterance for entering in order to uncover the face in the palace (<i>ht-3t</i>)—i.e. temple—and the chapels (<i>prw</i>) which are beside the sanctuary (<i>pr-wr</i>).
II.	2	North	Utterance for unfastening the seal.
III.	3	„	Utterance for incense to the uræus-goddess.
IV.	4	„	Utterance for entering the sanctuary (<i>shn</i>).
V.	5	„	Utterance for entering the Great Place (<i>i3t-wrt</i>)—i.e. sanctuary.
VI.	6	„	Utterance for —ing (<i>dfw</i>) the sanc- tuary.
VII.	7	„	Utterance for laying hands upon the god.
VIII.	8	„	Utterance for unfastening (?) the unguent (<i>sfht mdt</i>).
IX.	9	„	Utterance for taking off the clothing (<i>sfht mnht</i>).

Nos. I., II., IV. and V. are clearly pre-toilet episodes, V. being merely a variant of IV. The fact that they are placed in a different register to episodes 1-9, which also precede the toilet, suggests that at Abydos as at Karnak we have a combination of two versions of the pre-toilet episodes of the temple liturgy. The suggestion is further supported by certain similarities between the second version of the pre-toilet episodes in the Karnak liturgy and this particular series of episodes in the Abydos liturgy.

Thus the title of the formula for Abydos episode I. is similar to the title of the formula for Karnak episode I., while the actual formula is a version of formula *c* for Karnak episode II.³⁵ The title of the formula for Abydos episode IV. is the same as that of formula *a* for Karnak episode II., the last-named formula being itself a version of the formula for Abydos episode V.³⁶

³⁵ See Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that Abydos episode VII. and Karnak episode X. are identical, as are also the accompanying formulæ. This fact, if my theory that Abydos episodes I.-IX. come from an alternate version of the liturgy is correct, suggests that the second series of the Karnak pre-toilet episodes does not end with episode IX., but either with X. or XI., the last not occurring in the Abydos chapels.

But there are several points in which the second group of pre-toilet episodes in the Abydos liturgy does not correspond with the corresponding group of episodes in the Karnak liturgy. The formula for Abydos episode II. is the same as the formula *a* for Karnak episode 6—*i.e.* it occurs among the first series of the pre-toilet episodes of the Karnak liturgy, where it is entitled "Utterance for breaking the net, *sic.*"³⁷ Abydos episode III., the offering of incense to the uræus-goddess, does not occur in the second group of pre-toilet episodes in the Karnak liturgy. But with the version of the formulæ belonging to this episode, also recited while incense was being burnt, begins the second part of the Opening of the Mouth.³⁸ Is the source of this formula the daily liturgy performed in the temple of the snake-goddess Uto? If so, it comes in the right place both in the Abydos temple liturgy and in the Opening of the Mouth—*viz.* at or near the beginning of a rite or of a fresh series of episodes. Uto's priest may well have burnt incense and recited this formula when, after opening the door, he proceeded to enter the sanctuary.

The formula for Abydos episode IV. does not occur among the alternative formulæ for the corresponding Karnak episode

³⁷ See above, p. 39, footnote *. I have pointed out above, on p. 41, that the titles of formulæ *a* and *b* of Karnak episode 6 describe one action, the breaking of the clay seal. This view is supported by the fact that *b* occurs as the formula for Abydos episode I (*i.e.* was to be recited during the breaking of the seal, according to the first version of the pre-toilet section of the liturgy) and that *a* occurs as the formula for Abydos episode II. (*i.e.* was to be recited during the breaking of the seal according to the second version of the pre-toilet section of the liturgy). Yet additional support for this view is the fact that in the chapel of Amūn at Abydos, episode I with the accompanying formula is omitted from the upper register and takes the place of episode II. (=Karnak episode 6 with formula *b*) in the lower register.

³⁸ Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, ii., pp. 87 foll. ; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, ii., pp. 66 foll.

II. Its title, however, as already stated, and that of formula *a* for this particular Karnak episode, are very similar.

Abydos episode VI., which seems to have consisted in the priest sweeping the sanctuary floor with a folded cloth and burning incense the while,³⁹ also does not occur among the second group of pre-toilet episodes in the Karnak liturgy, nor yet do Abydos episodes VIII. and IX.

There was good reason for placing these episodes from the second version of the pre-toilet section of the Abydos liturgy in the lower register on the east wall (north end) and north wall, immediately below the more or less corresponding episodes from the first version. The convention prevailing at Abydos seems to have been that the episodes connected with, and immediately following, the entry of the priest into the sanctuary should all be depicted on the north side of the chapel, as close to the door as possible, while the episode connected with his departure should be depicted beside the door, on the south side. If the two series of pre-toilet episodes followed one another on the chapel walls as upon a papyrus roll, the second would begin, not, as it should, beside the door on the north side, but at the east end of the upper register on the south wall. Hence the above-mentioned arrangement of the two series of reliefs.

Episodes I.-IX. could hardly form the entire second version of the pre-toilet section of the Abydos liturgy. For example, no prostration, burning of incense, nor adoration of the god and goddess occur among them, as in the corresponding series of the Karnak liturgy.

The first series of pre-toilet episodes in the Abydos liturgy is similarly curtailed. It does not contain, like the corresponding portion of the Karnak liturgy, the episodes of kindling the fire, preparing the censer, entering the sanctuary.

Finally, the Abydos liturgy is not, like the Karnak liturgy,⁴⁰ prefaced by a general title.

These omissions can, however, be accounted for by the fact

³⁹ See Mariette, *Abydos*, i., p. 39 (tab. 6).

⁴⁰ See Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

that whereas the Karnak liturgy is written on a roll of papyrus, which could be made as long as was required, the Abydos liturgy is preserved to us in the form of a series of scenes to which are appended explanatory inscriptions. The choice of scenes doubtless depended in great measure upon what the draughtsman thought were best suited to the limited wall-space and also to some extent upon what he considered would best give a comprehensive idea of the subject he had to present.

When I speak of two versions or series of pre-toilet episodes in the Karnak and Abydos liturgies, I do not mean to imply that the officiating priest was confined to the use of one or the other version. On the contrary, the object of putting them together in one volume doubtless was that he might be able to use formulæ from either compilation indiscriminately.

We will now complete our study of the Karnak liturgy. The sequence of the first ten toilet episodes—viz. 14-23—is almost exactly that of the corresponding episodes in the Opening of the Mouth, and also, if our conclusions set forth in the list on p. 39 are correct, that of the corresponding episodes in the Abydos temple liturgy.

It will be seen that in some respects the Karnak liturgy more nearly resembles the Opening of the Mouth than does the Abydos liturgy. Thus the Karnak liturgy and the Opening of the Mouth prescribe four *dšrt*- and four *nmst*-vessels for the lustral washing, whereas, according to the Abydos liturgy, as already pointed out on p. 35, only one ▽-shaped vessel was used for that purpose. Again according to the Karnak liturgy the eyelids of the cultus-image were painted first with green and then with black cosmetic, as were the eyelids of the statue in the Opening of the Mouth. These two episodes are not depicted in the Abydos chapels, possibly, as suggested above, p. 38, owing to lack of space.

But for some reason or other the compiler of our version of the Karnak liturgy did not make the episodes of purifying the mouth with natron follow, as they should, the lustral washing. Instead we find included in an odd assortment of

episodes at the end of the book (episodes 24-32) four purifications of the mouth with natron (episodes 25, 26, 28 and 29). Episodes 25 and 29 are purifications of the mouth with Upper Egyptian natron of El-Kab (= Abydos episode 15; *Pyr.* 26). Episode 28 is a purification of the mouth with Lower Egyptian natron of Wādy en-Natrūn (= Abydos episode 14; *Pyr.* 27) and episode 26 a similar purification with *bd*-natron (= Abydos episode 16). Episodes 27, 31 and 32 are fumigations with burning incense, 30 a lustration with the water of a ▽-shaped vessel (= Abydos episode 12), and lastly episode 24 is the pouring out of sand (= Abydos episode 10).

Most if not all of these episodes are misplaced. As we have learnt from a study of the rite of the House of the Morning and the related rites, such as the Opening of the Mouth, the episodes of purifying the mouth with natron should come right at the beginning of the toilet, immediately after the washing or sprinkling of the cultus-object with holy water. That, moreover, is the position of these episodes in the Abydos liturgy. Again, as I have pointed out on pp. 34 foll., there are good grounds for supposing that the pouring out of sand comes at the right point in the Abydos liturgy—*i.e.* before the sprinkling of the cultus-image with water. Yet again, episode 30, the pouring out of the water of the ▽-shaped vase is, as the Abydos liturgy shows, a variant of episodes 14 and 15, the lustral washing or sprinkling of the cultus-image. In fact, of all nine episodes, No. 32 alone is possibly in its right place at the end of the liturgy, for the words, "receive the divine offerings," in line 8 perhaps indicate that it was a final burning of incense when the offerings were set before the divinity (see Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 211).

I will now give a general sum-up of the results of this discussion, first of all placing the episodes of the Abydos liturgy, in the order decided upon on pp. 33, 38, side by side with episodes 1-23 of the Karnak liturgy. It will be seen how closely both versions of the liturgy correspond, if my suggestion as to the starting-points of the scenes in the Abydos chapels is accepted.

KARNAK LITURGY

ABYDOS LITURGY

PRE-TOILET EPISODES: FIRST SERIES

<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>
1	Utterance for lighting the fire.		
2	Utterance for taking the censer.		
3	Utterance for placing the brazier on the censer.		
4	Utterance for putting incense on the fire.		
5	a. Utterance for advancing to the holy place (<i>bw dsr</i>).		
	b. Another utterance.		
6	a. Utterance for breaking the net <i>sic</i> .	1	Utterance for breaking the clay.
	b. Utterance for breaking the clay.		
7	Utterance for unfastening the shrine.	2	Utterance for drawing back the bolt.*
8	Utterance for uncovering the face.	3	Utterance for opening the two doors.†
9	Utterance for seeing the god.	4	Utterance for seeing the god.
10	a. Utterance for kissing the ground.	5	Utterance for kissing the ground, placing (oneself) upon the belly to touch the ground with one's (<i>lit.</i> his) fingers when entering in upon the god.
	b. Utterance for putting (oneself) upon the belly.		
	c. Utterance for putting (oneself) upon the belly, for stretching (oneself) out flat.		
	d. Utterance for kissing the ground prone.		
	e. Another.		
	f. Another.	6	Offering incense in front (of the god) with a censer.
11	a. Utterance for adoring Amūn	7	Adoring the god four times, offering incense when entering the palace (<i>stp-s3</i>).
	b. Another adoration of Amūn.	8	Adoring the goddess four times.
12	Utterance for festival-perfume (<i>sy-ḥb</i>) with honey.		
13	Utterance for incense.	9	Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling four times.

* Different title but actual formula same as Karnak 7.

† Different title but actual formula same as Karnak 8.

KARNAK LITURGY

ABYDOS LITURGY

PRE-TOILET EPISODES: SECOND SERIES

<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>
I.	Utterance for entering the temple.	I.	Utterance for entering in order to uncover the face in the palace (<i>ḥt 'st</i>)—i.e. temple—and the chapels (<i>prw</i>) which are beside the sanctuary (<i>pr-wr</i>).
		II.	Utterance for unfastening the seal.
		III.	Utterance for incense to the uræus-goddess.
II. a.	Utterance for entering the sanctuary (<i>šm</i>) of the god.	IV.	Utterance for entering the sanctuary (<i>šm</i>).
b.	Another utterance.	V.	Utterance for entering the Great Place (i.e. sanctuary).*
c.	Utterance for mounting the stairway.†		
III. a.	Utterance for uncovering the face on festivals.		
b.	Utterance for uncovering the face.		
IV.	Utterance for seeing the god.		
V. a.	Utterance for kissing the ground.		
b.	Utterance for putting (oneself) upon the belly.		
c.	Utterance for putting (oneself) upon the belly, for stretching (oneself) out flat.		
d.	Utterance for kissing the ground prone.		
e.	Another.		
f.	Another.		
VI. a.	Utterance for incense.		
b.	Another.		
VII. a.	Adoration of Amūn.		
b.	Another.		
c.	Another.		
d.	Another adoration of Amūn.		
e.	Another adoration of Amūn at dawn.		
VIII.	Utterance for presenting Mē'et.		
IX.	Utterance for incense to the Ennead.	VI.	Utterance for —ing (<i>d/w</i>) the sanctuary (<i>pr-wr</i>).

* This formula is a version of formula *a* for Karnak episode II.

† The formula of Abydos episode I. is a version of this formula *c*.

KARNAK LITURGY

ABYDOS LITURGY

PRE-TOILET EPISODES: SECOND SERIES (*cont.*)

<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>
X.	Utterance for laying his (the priest's) hands upon the god.	VII.	Utterance for laying hands upon the god.
		VIII.	Utterance for unfastening (?) the ointment (<i>sfht mdt</i>).
		IX.	Utterance for taking off the clothing (<i>sfht mnht</i>).
XI.	Utterance for laying hands upon the box in order to perform the purification.		

TOILET EPISODES

		10	Performing the pouring out of sand.
		11	Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling four times.
14	Utterance for purification with four <i>nmst</i> -vessels of water.	12, 13	Making purification with a ▽-shaped vessel of water
15	Making purification with four <i>dsrt</i> -vessels of water.		and
16	Making purification with incense.		with four balls of incense.
		14	Making purification with four balls of Lower Egyptian natron of Wady en-Natrūn.
		15	Making purification with four balls of Upper Egyptian natron of El-Kab.
		16	Making purification with four balls of <i>bd</i> natron.
		17	Making purification with incense upon the fire, encircling four times.
		18	Utterance for adorning (<i>sm'r</i>) the body with the <i>nms</i> .
17 a.	Utterance for the white cloth.	19	Utterance for putting on the white cloth.
b.	Utterance for putting on the cloth.		
18	Utterance for putting on the green cloth.	20	Utterance for putting on the green cloth.
19	Utterance for putting on the red cloth.	21	Utterance for putting on the red cloth.
20	Utterance for putting on the dark red cloth.	22	Utterance for putting on the great cloth after these.
		23	Utterance for giving the broad collar.
		24	Giving the <i>sspt</i> and counterpoise.

KARNAK LITURGY

ABYDOS LITURGY

 TOILET EPISODES (*cont.*)

<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Titles of formulae</i>
		25	Utterance for fixing the two plumes on the head.
		26	Utterance for giving the <i>w3s</i> -sceptre, crook, whip, bracelet and anklets.
21	a. Utterance for presenting unguent.	27	Utterance for presenting unguent.
	b. Utterance for presenting the unguent of the daily offering.		
22	Utterance for presenting green eye-cosmetic.		
23	Utterance for presenting black eye-cosmetic.		

The close correspondence of the two lists makes it evident that the Karnak and the Abydos lists are ultimately derived from the same source. As I have pointed out above, on pp. 45 foll., the Abydos liturgy in the form we possess it is far from complete. But as there are episodes even in this abridged edition of the Abydos liturgy which do not occur in our copy of the Karnak liturgy, the latter also is very likely not quite complete either. The two combined, however, probably form a very nearly if not quite complete version of the daily liturgy in an Egyptian temple (originally the sun-temple) when the ceremonial was fully carried out.

Having purified himself in the water of the sacred pool,⁴¹ the priest entered the temple, where his first act was to kindle a fire. Having put the censer together, he filled the pan at the end of it with burning charcoal from the fire and set incense thereon. Holding the smoking censer in one hand and reciting the while one of the prescribed utterances, he proceeded to the sanctuary, the double doors of which were bolted and the bolts secured with a clay seal. Having broken the seal, the priest drew back the bolts and opened the door,⁴² whereupon the figure of the god

⁴¹ Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 1, p. 79, note 2; see also the writer's art., "Purification (Egyptian)," in Hastings' *Encyclopadia of Religion and Ethics*, x., p. 480.

⁴² In some temples the cultus-image was placed in a wooden or stone naos set against the west wall of the sanctuary, in which case the ceremonies of breaking the seal and withdrawing the bolts would have been performed in connection with the opening of its doors instead of with the opening of the doors of the sanctuary (Ermann, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 44 foll.).

was revealed enshrined in his sacred boat.⁴³ Upon seeing the god the priest prostrated himself upon the ground or made a profound obeisance, then, standing or kneeling, he chanted first a hymn in honour of the god, sometimes burning incense the while, and then a second hymn in honour of *R'yt*, who was the female counterpart of the sun-god and identified with Hathor. The priest next presented the god with scented honey and burnt more incense. He then proceeded to take the image of the god out of the sacred boat or naos in order to perform its toilet.

According to the second version of the pre-toilet section of the liturgy, the priest recited a formula as he entered the temple as well as when he proceeded to the sanctuary. After breaking the clay seal and opening the doors of the sanctuary or naos,⁴⁴ he burnt incense to the uræus-goddess and recited a formula in her honour; moreover, on entering the sanctuary he swept the floor with a cloth. Again, instead of offering the cultus-image scented honey he presented it with a figure of the goddess Mē'et, the personification of Righteousness.⁴⁵ Yet again, peculiar to the second version of this section of the liturgy are the anointing of the cultus-image immediately after it was taken out of the boat or naos, and the making distinct episodes of the taking hold by the priest of the image and of the box containing the toilet articles, and also of the taking off by him of the clothing in which the image had been wrapped the day before.⁴⁶

Having taken the image out of the sacred boat or naos, the priest seems to have placed it upon a little pile of sand⁴⁷ which

⁴³ See *Piankhi Stele*, line 104 = Schäfer, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, iii., p. 39. In the sanctuary of the Heliopolitan sun-temple there were, according to the *Piankhi stele*, *loc. cit.*, two such boats, the morning boat and the afternoon boat.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 51, footnote 42.

⁴⁵ See Blackman, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v., p. 156 with footnote 8; cf. "Righteousness (Egyptian)" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, x., p. 79^a (2).

⁴⁶ For the use to which this clothing was put see Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 47; cf. also perhaps the following passage from a lament for a dead person:—"He who possessed much fine linen and who loved clothing (now) sleeps in the cast-off apparel of yesterday (*sg'rw m sfh n sf*)"; Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch), iii., pl. LXVII.

⁴⁷ See above, p. 34.

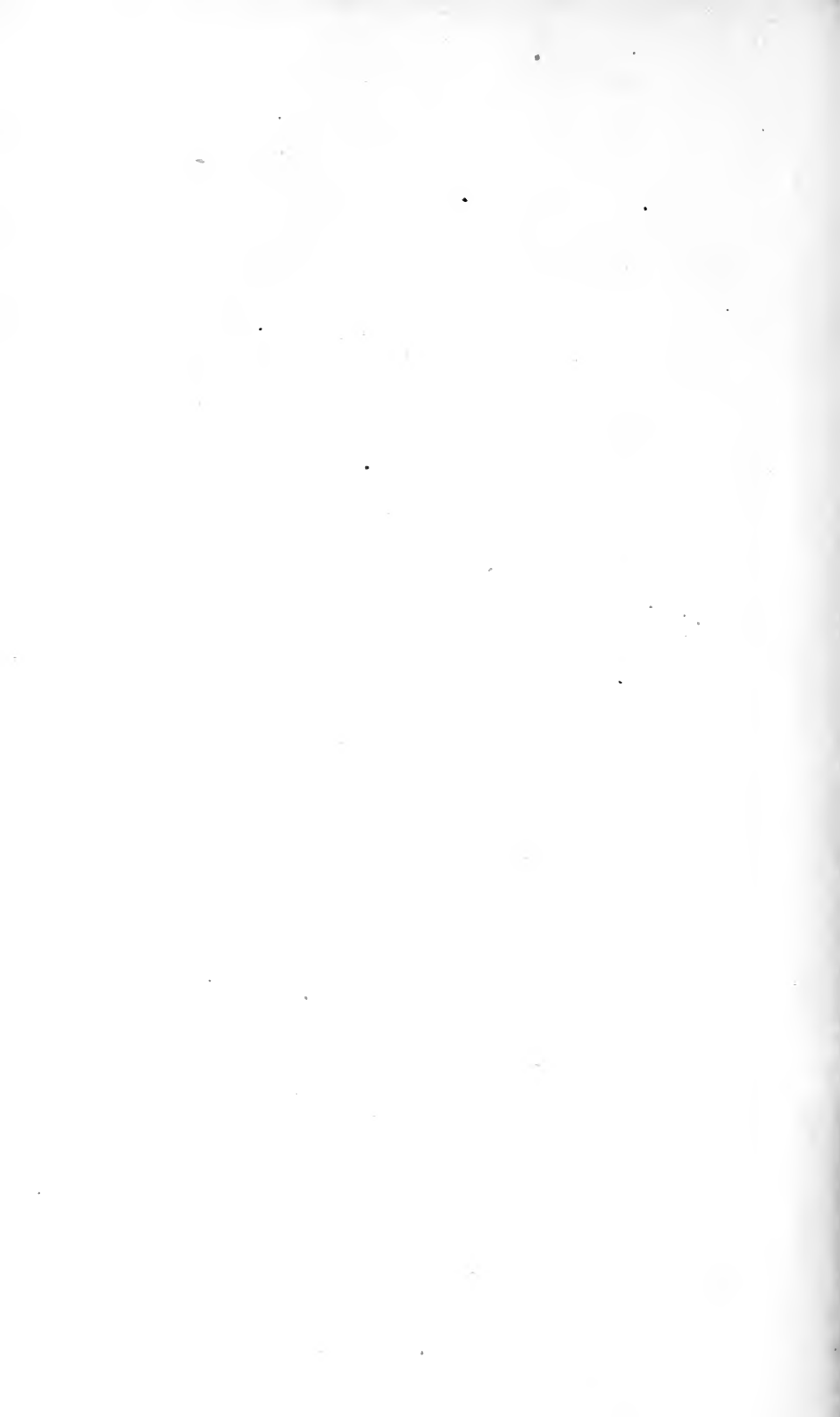
he had previously poured out. He now began the god's actual toilet with a preliminary censuring of the cultus-image. He next sprinkled it with the water of the four *nmst*- and four *dšrt*-vessels, or else with the water of one '-vessel, censured it again, cleansed its mouth with different kinds of natron, and yet again censured it. After this lustration he proceeded to dress the image, putting on it the white head-cloth and arraying it in white, green, red and dark red cloths successively. He then decked it with ornaments, and, having anointed it with unguent, painted its eyelids first with green and secondly with black cosmetic. Either immediately before or after this application of unguent and cosmetics the priest invested the image with royal insignia. There seems to have been a final burning of incense when the priest laid before the image a well-furnished repast. Perhaps it was thought that through the medium of the incense-smoke the vital force of the food and drink was imparted to the god.⁴⁸

Addendum.—When this article was already in print I came across further evidence to support my view that Abydos episodes I.-IX. are part of an alternative version of the pre-toilet section of the temple liturgy, and should therefore in the list of episodes precede Nos. 10-27. Abydos episode IX. is the "taking off of the clothing" (*sfht mnh*). At Deir el-Bahri, both in the Funerary Chapel of Tethmōsis I.⁴⁹ and in the Shrine of Anubis,⁵⁰ the priest-king is depicted "taking off the adornment" (*sfht dbt*) of the cultus-image—i.e. all the clothing and ornaments in which it had been arrayed the previous day—immediately before sprinkling it with the water of the four *nmst*- and four *dšrt*-vessels and purifying its mouth with the two varieties of natron.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Pyr.*, 378-382, where the supplying of the dead king with food and drink ("As for this land wherein Unis walks, Unis thirsts not therein, Unis hungers not therein") is associated with the burning of incense.

⁴⁹ Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, part I., pls. X. foll.

⁵⁰ Id., *op. cit.*, part II., pls. XLIV. foll.



THE INFINITIVE, ESPECIALLY THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE IN HEBREW AND ITS COGNATES: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AND TRANSLATION

BY T. WITTON DAVIES.

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

WHAT has been variously called the "Infinitive," "the noun of action," "the verbal noun," might have been as correctly designated the "nominal [or "nounal"] verb," for it is in most languages as much a verb as a noun. In "to play is pleasant" it is a noun; in "to read a book is pleasant" it is a verb, though the whole expression "to read a book" functions as a noun in the nominative case.

Comparative philologists lay it down as a general law that in the Indo-European languages the infinitive was originally a substantive. Like other substantives, it may take on case-endings, and it is often followed by a Genitive. The endings of the infinitive in Sanscrit, Greek and Latin have been traced to old terminations expressing case relations: *cf.* the Greek infinitives ending in *ai*, *men* and *menai*. For summaries of forms assumed by the Indo-European verbal noun, see Brug., E.V., § 1088 ff., pp. 597 ff.; *cf.* ii., § 162, p. 490; Giles, 408 ff. The same doctrine is taught with regard to the Keltic infinitive verb, though the present writer holds that the base of Keltic is Semitic or Hamitic-Semitic: see Zeuss, pp. 923 ff, 934; Pedersen, ii. 411; and for Welsh, the *Welsh Grammar* (1913), by John Morris Jones, 385 ff.

In Irish the verbal noun acts as a noun throughout, the only object accompanying it being that of the genitive, never that of the accusative: see Brug., E.V., ii., p. 470; Pedersen, ii.,

p. 413. In Old Irish verbal nouns are declinable like other nouns: see Pedersen, ii. 411. Welsh, however, has lost its case-endings far more completely than Hebrew, so that it is impossible to say for certain whether the noun of action ever takes an accusative object. The analogy of Irish is against this supposition, but that of the Classical, Sanscrit and Semitic languages favours it.

For the Sanscrit see the grammars of Max Müller (1866, § 459), Monier Williams (1877, § 458), Whitney (1879, § 538) and Kielhorn (1896, § 595). The Nominal origin of the infinitive is made clearer in Sanscrit than in other languages, as its case-endings (accusative, dative, locative, genitive, ablative) are better preserved. But the infinitive functions also as a verb and as such governs a case. This applies particularly to Sanscrit, and to the Classical and Semitic languages: see the grammars of these languages for examples. It might be a wise thing if British philologists took a course of their own instead of slavishly following German scholars. Perhaps, after all, the supposed case-endings of the Aryan infinitives are not what they seem: at all events words with such endings pronounced to be those of case act the part of verbs in themselves governing the accusative. One German philologist (Hermann Paul, of Freiburg) takes the view, unfashionable in the Fatherland, that the verbal noun in Indo-European is primarily verbal, and only secondarily and subsequently nominal (see his work, p. 418 ff.).

Jewish followed by the great bulk of Christian scholars have proceeded upon two assumptions—viz. that all Semitic roots are (1) verbal (the root or stem being the Perfect third person singular) and (2) triradical. The *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon* (1892-1906), the completest and most up-to-date in the English language, is arranged in accordance with these principles, words having to be sought—some monoliteral particles excepted—under the supposed triradical root, often with the most ridiculous results and greatly to the bewilderment of the tyro in the language. Buhl's edition of Gesenius's *Hebrew Lexicon* places the words according to their common uninflected form—nouns, verbs, particles, with a reference, however, to the cognate

verb (its root), when that is known with tolerable certainty. And, unlike the Oxford stereotyped issue, the German lexicon is being revised and reissued every few years. My newest edition—the 16th—was published in 1915; in it the very latest results are incorporated, and reference is made to the most recent literature. Why does not the Oxford Press do this instead of perpetuating exploded opinions and ignoring the newest knowledge? The triradicality of Hebrew roots is taken for granted as a working hypothesis throughout the Hebrew Bible, and only on this theory is it possible to explain the Massoretic vowel system as applied in the inflection of the *'Ain Warw*, the *'Ain 'Ain*, the *Lamed He* verbs, and the nouns derived from them: cf. the word *'ammi*=my people from *'amm*. Julius Fürst and Franz Delitzsch stoutly maintained that Semitic roots were originally biradical or monosyllabic, as indeed, they held, was true of all languages in their earliest stage: see Renan, p. 437 ff.

Both Lagarde and Barth in their epochal works on noun formation in Semitic agree in deriving all nouns from verbs. Lagarde traces Semitic nouns to the Perfect or Imperative of the verb, Barth referring them to the perfect (concretes) or imperfect (abstracts). Since, however, the Imperative and the Imperfect have a common base (the Construct Infinitive), these two great scholars were not so far apart as the bitter words that passed between them suggest. I heard one scholar say that Lagarde ought to have been called “blagard” (blackguard). The writer, a pupil of Barth’s, had the profoundest admiration and affection for the Berlin professor.

It will be seen from what has been said that Semitic scholars are on the whole agreed that the verbal noun in Hebrew and its cognate is primarily verbal. The Arab grammarians call it the “noun of action” (*'ismu'lfi'li*).

TWO TYPES OF THE INFINITIVE IN HEBREW

Hebrew stands apart from all other languages on the face of the earth by having two types of the infinitive, differing alike in form and almost (not quite) always in function. One of

them has long unchangeable vowels; the other was originally monosyllabic (*qātl*, *qitl*, etc.). The first is called the "absolute," the second the "construct" infinitive. Arabic seems to have a form of the infinitive very similar to the absolute infinitive in *qatāli*, e.g., *naẓāli* = "get down": see Wright, *Arabic Grammar*³, i., p. 62*b*. But this form has invariably the imperative meaning, and it is not of frequent occurrence. In Assyrian, Aramaic (including so-called Chaldee and Syriac), Ethiopic and, with the exception just mentioned, in Arabic, the same infinitive performs the functions of the two types of infinitive in Hebrew: see below. Hebrew stands alone in this as in some other respects. It is significant too that the use of the absolute infinitive with the finite verb and of the waw-consecutive, both of them marks of the best Hebrew, tends to fall out of use in the later parts of the Old Testament, where the Hebrew is poorer, and both disappear in post-Biblical Hebrew (Mishnaic, Rabbinical).

It is natural to ask, Why did the Hebrews alone of peoples create two distinct genera of the infinitive, dividing between them the functions of the one infinitive in other languages? For attempts to answer the question see Barth, *N.B.*, §§ 41*b*, 103; cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv., pp. 678-698; Grimme (Hubert), pp. 66-72; Prætorius, *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi., pp. 546-550; cf. Lagarde, pp. 12, 22, 174. Lagarde holds that in primitive Semitic there was but one infinitive of the form *fa'āl* represented by the Hebrew *קָטַל* (*qātōl*) originally *קָטַל* (*qātāl*); he cites as an example *שָׁלוֹם*, *shālōm*, "a being whole" or "complete" (see p. 174 of his work). Hebrew *ō* represents *ā* in Arabic, Aramaic, etc.: cf. the *qal* participle. Prætorius (p. 546) says that the original Semitic infinite (only one) was of the form *qātāl* (or *qōtāl*?).

Both Lagarde and Prætorius base their conclusion on the analogy of the Arabic *qātāli* or (Lagarde) *qātāl*. But Arabic as known in extant literature is much later than Assyrian and Biblical Hebrew and might be expected *a priori* to have the later feature of Semitic, not the earlier.

There is, however, good reason for concluding that Hebrew had once but one type of infinitive, though we can never be

sure how that one infinitive was vocalised, since the Hebrew vowel signs (Babylonian and Palestinian) were not introduced before the seventh or eighth century of our era. The different vocalisation of the two infinitives in the massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible may have been adopted as a convenient method of differentiating the various functions of what was one infinitive. The fact that in our Hebrew Bible the infinitive absolute and the infinitive construct are with some exceptions written *plene* and *defective* respectively (*i.e.* קטול and קטל) has no weight, for the different ways of writing long vowels \bar{o} and \bar{i} and even \bar{u} are of recent origin and are purely editorial and artificial.

David Qimkhi (1160-1232) in his Hebrew grammar calls the infinitive the מקור (*maqōr*)—*i.e.* source or fountain—because the other forms of verb are supposed to be derived from it. But what he says of it applies to the construct infinitive alone (see chapter (or section) xxvii of his grammar, *Hammiklol*).

Nevertheless in the M.T. of our Old Testament two infinitives occur differing alike in form and almost always in function. The absolute infinitive has long unchangeable vowels, the construct infinitive having usually one long or one short vowel, both of them changeable. Why two infinitives in Hebrew at all? The following is the probable explanation. At an early period in the history of the Hebrew language the functions of the original infinitive written as the absolute now is (or *qāṭāl*) became narrowed down to those of the Biblical absolute infinitive. Lagarde (pp. 12, 22, 76) will have it that the earliest form of the verb was in the imperative, written almost exactly as the original infinitive. He distinguishes the imperatival فَعَّال (*fa'ali*) and the infinitival فَعَّالٌ (*fa'al^{un}*) and thinks the Hebrew absolute infinitive represents both forms. Of course the absolute infinitive has often the force of the imperative (see *G.K.*, § 113*bb*), just as in Greek (Homer, etc.) the infinitive performs the same function (see Philippians iii. 16 for an example—the only one—in the N.T.). But Arabic, as we know it, is too recent to justify our arguing from it to primitive Semitic; besides this, the infinitival form cited is only one of some half hundred. The restricted use of the early Hebrew

infinitive *qāṭōl* (or *qāṭāl*) made it necessary to create an allied form to express the other freer and more numerous meanings of the infinitive. The base of the imperfect (and imperative) *qal* stem was selected for that purpose. The dropping of the pronominal prefixes and of the suffixes of the Perfect suggests that indefiniteness which characterises the infinitive.

This is not inconsistent with the view that the old infinitive was the earliest form of the verb. The distinction of two infinitives in the derived conjugations is probably an afterthought of the grammarian, and it is found only in some irregular verbs, and in a few forms of the Niph'al and Hiph'il of the regular verb, the *Qal* originally functioning as the one adverbial infinitive for all conjugations. For the principal offices of the absolute infinitive see König, ii. (syntax), §§ 215 ff.; *G.K.*, § 113; *D.S.*, §§ 84-88; and the excellent epitome of Hebrew syntax by W. R. Harper, pp. 84-88. The following represent in the opinion of the present writer the functions of the Hebrew absolute infinitive in the order of their evolution:—

1. It was used first of all as the sole representative of the verb: see *G.K.*, § 113*aa*. Primitive Semitic resembled Chinese and other ancient languages in the absence of inflections; *cf.* the historical infinitive in Latin, and the infinitive for the imperative in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek; the German *nicht laufen*, and the French *voir* in the sense *vide*.

The inflected stage in language is later than the uninflected, and the full inflections of Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Classical Arabic, etc., are the inventions of grammarians; they never entered the common speech of the people. Far back in the history of the Semites one form of the verb was made to serve all purposes.

2. When following a finite verb, the infinitive often takes on by implication the modifications of the inflected form: see *G.K.*, § 1133. This idiom obtains in Syriac (see Nöldeke, § 297), in Welsh (see Zeuss, p. 934; Pedersen ii., p. 418; *cf.* Rev. iii., as rendered by Morgan and Parry), in the African languages, (see Stapleton, § 570) and in Egyptian (see Erman, § 275, *cf.* Renouf, p. 56).

3. The absolute infinitive immediately preceding or following a cognate finite verb. In course of time the Hebrew mind demanded greater precision of statement than the verbal noun permitted, so the finite verb was constructed or at first perhaps the elements (pronominal, verbal, etc.) by the combination of which the finite verb arose were put together (*cf.* the so-called "agglutinative" stage of language: see Max Müller, vol. i., 286 ff.). At first the old infinitive form was retained either before or after the finite verb which defined it, but with no effect on the finite verb itself. It is as if one were to say in English "living"—*i.e.* "I have lived," or "I will or shall live." In favour of this early redundant use of this infinitive are these two points: (1) the Septuagint, Vulgate and other versions often ignore the absolute infinitive which accompanies a finite verb: see below, pp. 64 f.; (2) in Arabic what is called by Arab grammarians the *maf'ul mutlaq* (the absolute object) has often, according to Wright (ii. 53*D*), no influence whatever on the finite verb. Thus نَامَ نَوْمًا = نَامَ he slept, not he slept soundly. This, however, is denied by de Sacy (i., § 576; 2nd ed. § 673), and Verniers (ii., § 900). The existence of two forms of expression in apparently the same sense was sure to lead to a differentiation of meaning. So it came about that the infinitive before the finite was regarded as strengthening its meaning. After the finite verb the infinitive was made to have either the same force or more commonly that of continuance. The accepted doctrine as to the parts played by the absolute infinitive accompanying a finite verb is well stated by König, Kautzsch, Davidson, Harper, etc., in their grammars of Hebrew: see the reference at p. 60. It may of course be asked, Are we sure that this doctrine is sound? Probability is in its favour: the mere repetition of a word adds intensity: see *G.K.*, § 123, *d, e*; *D S.*, § 29, *R.*, 8.; *cf.* Isa. vi. 3, "Holy, holy" = "very holy." It is commonly used with the voluntative as if to strengthen the wish or command. Parallelism and the context look in the same direction.

Since all the Semitic languages agree in a general way in this adverbial employment of the infinitive, it must have been adopted before the separation of the Semitic peoples, nay,

before the Semitic-Hamites had separated themselves from the parent stock, for Egyptian and other Hamitic languages have the idiom in question. It has, however, been pointed out that in Hebrew alone do we meet two types of the infinitive.

THE INTENSIFYING (OR CONTINUING) INFINITIVE IN THE LANGUAGES COGNATE TO HEBREW

1. ARABIC.—The noun of action (*'ismu'lfi'li* of the native grammars) when used to strengthen the finite verb is called by Arab grammarians *maf'ul mutlaq*—*i.e.* the absolute object—and it is placed invariably after the verb proper. Hence the Arabic rendering of the Hebrew מוֹת הַמּוֹת in Gen. ii. 16 should be *تَمُوتُ مَوْتًا*, *tamutu mawtan*. To place the absolute object first as is done in the Arabic versions in the Paris and London Polyglots and in all Arabic versions of the Bible down to 1867, when Van Dyck's greatly improved translation appeared (British and Foreign Bible Society), is to be guilty of a Hebraism (see p. 66). The absolute object can stand before its verb only when it is qualified by another verb—*e.g.* he educated him with a *good education*: see Wright, ii., pp. 53, 56. We have examples of this latter usage in Jon. i. 10; iv. 10: *cf.* LXX., which renders literally, and in the N.T. passages based probably on the LXX. of the above verses, Mk. iv. 41; Lk. ii. 9 (they feared with a *great fear*—*i.e.* very much); Mt. ii. 10 (they rejoiced with *great rejoicing*—*i.e.* very greatly). But there do not seem to be any other examples of this idiom in the O.T. or in the N.T.

2. ARAMAIC.—This may be thus subdivided:

(a) *Western Aramaic, including so-called Chaldee.*—In the Targums (Onqelos, Jonathan, etc.) the infinitive is used to strengthen the finite verb: the Hebrew order is usually followed—*e.g.* the infinitive precedes or follows as in the Hebrew: see Gen. ii. 16 f.; iii. 4, etc. (infinitive first), and Gen. xxxi. 15; Num. xi. 32; Josh. vii. 7; xxiv. 10, etc. (finite verb first). In all these cases we are perhaps to see a Hebraism. This is made more probable by the fact that apart from the Targums, Western or Palestinian Aramaic knows nothing of the intensi-

ying function of the infinitive. In the Palestine Talmud it occurs but once and then in technical phrases prevalent in the Rabbinic schools of Palestine: see Dalman, *Words*, p. 34.

This makes it probable that assuming Aramaic to have been the language spoken by our Lord (see the able articles on the subject in *The Expositor* by Rev. J. T. Marshall, of Manchester), this idiom never passed His lips, though the contrary has been maintained. This use of the infinitive occurs a few times in the Babylonian Talmud: see Dalman, *Aram. Gram.*, 326.

(b) *Eastern Aramaic: Syriac*.—The strengthening infinitive is used in the Peshitta almost uniformly when the Hebrew text has it, and as in the case of the Targum the order of the infinitive and finite verb is that of the Hebrew; but there are exceptions (see Josh. xxiv. 10, etc.), and in some instances the infinitive is ignored (see Gen. xxxi. 15; Josh. vii. 7, etc.). As a rule this infinitive precedes the finite verb; but it sometimes follows it, with the result that the emphasis is increased: see Nöldeke, § 295 f.; cf. Gen. xxii. 17 and Hebrews vi. 14. Duval, on the contrary, holds that there is no appreciable difference between the two constructions (see § 353). Kautzsch (*G.K.*, § 113r, note) is wrong when he says that in Syriac the infinitive always precedes the finite verb. The use of the intensive infinitive is continued in the modern Syriac dialects: see A. J. Maclean, *Grammar of Vernacular Syriac* (1895, § 57; Nöldeke, *Gram d. Neusyrische Sprache*, p. 333). Stoddart denies this, however, in his grammar. Duval (p. 333) says this idiom is not a Hebraism, but a part of the genius of the Syriac language; for evidence he refers to his grammar of Mandaic, § 271 (unfortunately I have no means of consulting this work).

(c) *Assyrian*.—The infinitives in Assyrian have nominal and especially verbal functions. It is used along with its finite verb to emphasise the latter, but always before it: see the grammar of Assyrian by Sayce (p. 166 f.) and also that of Friedrich Delitzsch, (§ 133).

(d) *Ethiopic*.—The intensifying infinitive is used in Ethiopic exactly as in Syriac; it generally precedes the finite verb but sometimes follows it: see Dillmann, § 181.

This idiom occurs once on the Moabite Stone, in the inscription of King Mesha, line 7, אָבַר אָבַר (Israel) "perished utterly."

THE INTENSIVE INFINITIVE IN THE VERSIONS

1. GREEK.—The Septuagint version of the Old Testament (we have but fragments of the other Greek versions: see Field's edition of Origen's Hexapla) is the most ancient, though its age varies in different parts, the oldest being that of the Pentateuch. Because the most ancient and for other reasons it is the most important, for it has been a kind of pattern for other versions, especially for the Vulgate and through that for all Romanist and many Protestant translations. Wyclif's English Bible was translated direct from the Vulgate, and not from the original texts.

(a) Generally the infinitive in question is rendered by the participle: see Gen. xxii. 17; xxvi. 28; xxxvii. 8, 10; xliii. 7 (6); Ex. iii. 7; iv. 14, etc., etc. Sometimes the LXX. is followed in this literally by the translators of our English Bible—*e.g.* Gen. xxii. 17: "In blessing I will bless thee," and "in multiplying I will multiply thee." When this infinitive follows the finite verb in Hebrew the LXX. commonly (not always) observes the same order: see Num. xxiv. 10; Joel ii. 26; Dan. xi. 10. In Isa. ix. 6, etc., the Hebrew order (infinitive-finite) is reversed.

The translators of the LXX. seem to have made this idiom their own, for they adopt it in cases where no infinitive occurs in the Hebrew: see Ex. xxiii. 26. Is the idiom traceable in Classical Greek?—see Winer-Moulton, § 45, 8, and König, ii., § 220*b*.

(b) Very often the LXX. has the abstract noun cognate to the verb in the place of the Hebrew intensifying infinitive: see Gen. xxxi. 15; Num. xi. 32; Josh. xxix. 10; Isa. vi. 9.

(c) In many instances the LXX. ignores this infinitive, translating as if it were not in the Hebrew at all: see Josh. vii. 7; Jer. xxvii. 17; Amos. iii. 5.

2. THE LATIN VERSIONS.—The oldest extant Latin trans-

lation is that known as the "Itala Vetus," though this term has been variously applied, Jerome's version being sometimes so called. Its date is about A.D. 200. It exists in fragments only. For the purposes of the present article the version of Leviticus and Numbers (see Bibliography) has been collated with the Vulgate, but no essential divergence on the point now discussed has been observed.

The Vulgate often ignores the intensifying infinitive altogether: see Gen. ii. 16; iii. 19, etc. It translates it in the following way:—

(a) By a participle (so the LXX.): see Ex. iii. 16; 1 Sam. xx. 6, etc.

(b) It renders this infinitive by a cognate abstract noun: see Gen. ii. 17; Hos. iv. 18, etc.

(c) Occasionally it represents this construction idiomatically and correctly: see Ex. iv. 19; Lev. x. 18, etc.

In Latin versions of a later date the ablative of the gerund is used, as invariably by Pagninus (see below). There are some examples of this in the Vulgate: see Judith xiv. 10; Acts x. 33; xvi. 16. The present writer has, however, failed to discover one example of this idiom in the Vulgate of the Protestant Old Testament. Kaulen (271 f.), who cites many authorities and examples of this use of the gerund in the ablative, says it came into common use among Latin prose writers after Tacitus (A.D. 55-117) to express "*modum ac formam rei actae*" much (he adds) in the way of the participle in the Romance languages. Rieder, cited by König (ii., § 220⁶), says that though *occidione occidere* occurs in Levy, *interficiendo interficere* and the like are "*alienum a Latinorum consuetudine*."

The version of Pagninus (1470-1541) uses the above idiom (ablative gerund) invariably for the intensive infinitive, and it has no alternative rendering—*e.g.* Gen. ii. 17, "*moriendo morieris*." Munster follows Pagninus closely, though he translates sometimes by the participle (Amos v. 5, etc.) and at times by the cognate abstract noun (Jer. iii. 1, etc.). But he nearly always translates this infinitive as Pagninus does, only he observes the order gerund—finite verb, whatever the order in the Hebrew.

This is the order observed in the Welsh versions too. Pagninus never deviates from the Hebrew order.

Castellio (Seb. 1515-1563) issued his translation in 1551, and in it he ignores this infinitive, with very few exceptions (one in Gen. xxxvii. 8).

Tremellius (1510-1580) in his Latin Bible (1575-1579) translates the idiom in question idiomatically, *omnino* being the adverb which he appends to the finite verb for this purpose.

Calvin (1509-1564), Cocceius (1603-1669) and Sebastian Schmid (d. 1696) in their Latin versions make Pagninus (not Munster) their model and translate the intensive infinitive as he does.

3. THE SYRIAC.—The only Syriac version which can be referred to here is the Peshitta, the oldest (about A.D. 200) and far the most important and most widely used by Syrian Christians. In its rendering of the Hebrew intensive infinitive, this version follows the Hebrew in every respect: the idiom seems to have been as native to Syriac as to Hebrew (see above, p. 63).

4. THE ARABIC VERSIONS.—The Arabic version printed in the Paris (1645) and London (1657, etc.) Polyglots and in the Newcastle Arabic Bible (1811—all identical) is a mixed one, though that of the Pentateuch is the one made by the learned Jewish Rabbi Sa'adya (892-942). In this complex version—certainly in the Pentateuch—the intensive infinitive is made to precede the finite verb as it generally does in Hebrew, an inaccuracy due to following the Hebrew (see p. 62). This incorrect order is followed by all Romanist versions (the last, however, published in 1882 by the Romanist press at Beyrout as a corrective of Van Dyck's I have not seen). It is the order followed also by the Protestant versions down to 1867, when the Bible Society published Van Dyck's magnificent translation. In this latter the Arabic rendering of the intensive infinitive is translated according to Arabic idiom—the first Arabic Bible that could make this claim.

5. GERMAN.—Luther's version generally ignores the intensive infinitive (see Gen. ii. 17; iii. 4, etc.); but sometimes it translates by the cognate abstract noun (Gen. ii. 16, as Vulgate) and often quite idiomatically (Ex. iii. 4).

6. FRENCH.—Of the French versions those promoted by Romanists follow the Vulgate, as was to be expected, and the same is true as regards the intensive infinitive of the earliest Protestant version (Olivetani, cousin of Calvin, 1567) in the passages consulted by the present writer : see Gen. ii. 16 f.; iii. 14, etc. But in Ostervald's translation, now generally used by French Protestants, the infinitive of emphasis is idiomatically rendered.

7. THE ENGLISH VERSIONS.—The earliest English Bibles, Tyndale's, Coverdale's, the Bishops', the Great Bible, commonly ignore the intensive infinitive, though they often translate it idiomatically, as the Geneva Bible, A.V. and R.V. almost always do : see Num. xxvii. 7, where the former translations are as if the Hebrew text lacked the infinitive. There are many other instances—probably Wyclif's version based on the Vulgate is responsible for this defect.

8. THE WELSH VERSIONS.—The two great Welsh versions, that by Bishop Morgan (1588) and that of Bishop Parry (1620), in at least seven-eighths of the passages where it is found, render this infinitive exactly as Pagninus did. Whether or not Morgan followed Pagninus is a problem with which the present writer deals at length in *Y Beirniad* (Welsh quarterly, edited by Sir J. Morris Jones) for July, 1916 (reprinted as pamphlet). Sometimes, however, both Morgan and Parry give a correct rendering : see Ex. iv. 14 ; xxii. 20, etc. Not infrequently Parry departs from the older version by giving an idiomatic translation, though Morgan's is Hebraic : see Jer. iii. 1 ; xiii. 12, etc. Since Parry in almost every case, except that of the infinitive of emphasis, corrects Morgan by the A.V. as if the latter were infallible, the wonder is that he has not constantly translated this idiom correctly as the A.V. does (with a couple of exceptions). I have discovered some examples in which Parry translates the idiom as Pagninus does—*i.e.* Hebraistically—though Morgan has the correct rendering. It has been hinted that the two Welsh versions have the order gerund (or participle)—finite verb, whatever the arrangement in the original. In this they follow Sebastian Munster, not Pagninus.

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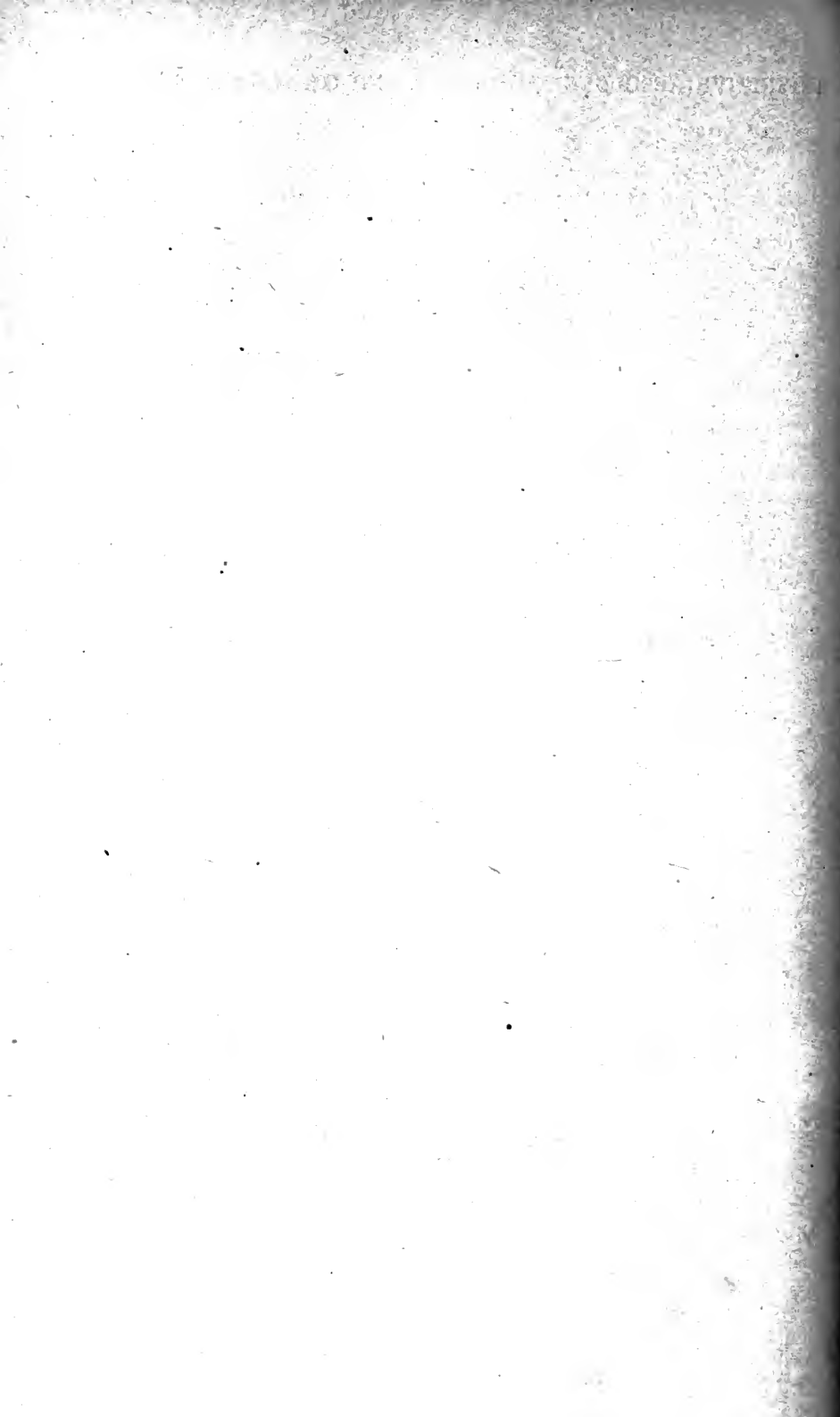
The writer has been able in his own library to consult the English versions (see dates of editions in brackets): Tyndale (the Pentateuch: Reprint 1884), Coverdale, (Reprint, Baxter's), Matthew's *Bible* (1549), the *Great* (Cranmer's) *Bible* (1566), the *Bishops' Bible* (1566), the *Geneva Bible* (1660), as well as, of course, the A.V. and R.V.

D. WELSH VERSIONS

There are but two versions of the Welsh Bible, those made by W. Morgan (1588) and W. Parry (1620). Both these scholars were largely assisted by contemporary scholars, Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, a profound Hebrew and Welsh scholar, being the most distinguished. The later Welsh version is almost entirely a correction of the first by the A.V. published in 1610, though the present writer has registered several important improvements on all earlier versions, along with some changes for the worse.

E. POLYGLOTS

The Antwerp (1576, etc.) and London Polyglots and other smaller Polyglots (Reineccius, etc.) have been constantly referred to.



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEARCH FOR AMBER IN ANTIQUITY

BY W. J. PERRY.

IN the course of a discussion on "The Influence of Egyptian Civilisation on the World's Culture," which was held during the meeting of the British Association in 1915, I ventured to suggest that the frequent localisation of megalithic monuments in places where various sources of wealth existed in the past constituted evidence as to the motives which induced the builders of such monuments to settle in these spots. I argued that the coincidences of distribution made it legitimate to conclude that the people who left these monuments behind them were in all probability engaged in the exploitation of mines, or some other sources of wealth such as pearl-beds. As the result of a rough, preliminary survey of the earth, I suggested at the time that gold was apparently the chief object of search, for so many groups of megalithic monuments were situated on the sites of the well-known gold-fields of antiquity. Subsequent investigation has fully confirmed this suggestion, and has shown that the search for gold has been the chief cause of the expansion of civilisation into outlying parts of the earth. The continual discovery of new gold-fields on the outskirts of civilisation has for thousands of years brought about successive "gold rushes" such as were witnessed in the last century in California, Australia and Alaska, with the consequent transplanting of an advanced civilisation into regions hitherto tenanted mainly by people of low culture. This has happened in the past in France, Spain, Great Britain and elsewhere, as inevitably as in the case of California after 1849. The romantic story of the gradual advance of civilisation all over the earth, and of the vicissitudes which it has experienced owing to the effects which the desire for gold and other substances has had upon the behaviour of

men, I hope before long to set forth in detail, and to show what tremendous consequences this search has had upon the historical process which has ultimately produced our own civilisation.

At first sight it appeared that the movement which left megalithic monuments and other remains scattered in various parts of the earth was purely the result of a desire for wealth such as is possessed by so many Europeans of the present day. But more detailed study, especially on the part of Professor Elliot Smith, has made it necessary to modify this opinion in some measure.

The researches of Mr. Wilfrid Jackson, published in part in his valuable work on *Shells as Evidence of the Migration of Early Culture*, have shown that the search for pearls must have played an important part in the causation of the outward movement of civilisation. In countries such as France, the distribution of megalithic monuments is not wholly accounted for by supposing that their builders were engaged in washing the gravels of certain river-beds for gold. In some districts noteworthy for megalithic monuments, such, for example, as the department of Haut Vienne and the basin of the Charente, there is, so far as I know, no trace of the presence of any gold in streams or in rocks; but the rivers, on the other hand, are well known, as Mr. Jackson tells me, for the presence of pearl-bearing mussels. There is good reason also for supposing that the search for pearls has played an important part in attracting, among others, the builders of megalithic monuments to this country as well as to other parts of Europe. Since pearls have been prized as a form of wealth for many centuries, although not, like gold, as currency, it might be thought that the search for them was simply due to the desire to obtain wealth, and this view is certainly worthy of consideration.

But one feature of the early history of Europe raises a grave difficulty. In the region centred round Jutland there has existed some form of civilisation or other from very early times. Beginning with kitchen-middens on the coast of Jutland and the neighbouring islands, and followed by stone monuments

characteristic of various stages of civilisation, successively occupying wider areas, this region has played a part of enormous importance in the history of Europe; indeed we of late years have been experiencing only too keenly some of the consequences of the growth and development of this civilisation. The close correspondence of the distribution of these monuments, and especially the early ones, with the amber deposits on the shores of the Baltic, makes it difficult to refuse to believe that the existence of beds of amber has caused the presence of the men who were responsible for the kitchen-middens and stone monuments of this region.

It may be objected that the people responsible for the kitchen-middens were of very low culture, who lived on shell-fish and were incapable of appreciating the value of amber. But Mr. Wilfrid Jackson quotes in his work (p. 15) evidence which shows most emphatically that the "kitchen-midden" people of Ireland were engaged in procuring purple from shells, an occupation hardly typical of the culture of primitive people. Arguments based on the assumption that crude remains mean a low stage of civilisation are dangerous in the extreme: one would hardly judge of the quality of European civilisation from the rude hut and tin cans left behind by some lonely gold prospector in Australia.

It is not certain that amber was first discovered, in Europe, in the Baltic. This may have happened at the head of the Adriatic. Amber was used for purposes of ornament by the Mycenæan peoples of Greece and elsewhere, and also in Homeric times. Nevertheless, once it was discovered in the Baltic, it was evidently much sought after for some reason or other. It is not easy to see, however, why it should have been adopted so readily as a form of wealth, for it has not the same attraction that is possessed by gold and pearls, and is simply one of a number of objects of commercial exploitation.

It is quite easy to explain how the seekers for gold and pearls arrived in the amber region of the Baltic, for sources of these objects form a continuous series leading right into the heart of the amber region, where there is a former centre of pearl-

fishing.¹ Once there the pearl-fishers could not help noticing the amber in the water. The difficulty is in understanding why they should have taken the trouble to send it back hundreds of miles, and finally to settle and there build up an extensive civilisation.

The obvious explanation of this fact is not necessarily correct. Amber is not especially beautiful, and it is not obvious that anyone noticing it would forthwith make jewellery of it: at the present time it occupies an inconspicuous place in the list of substances from which articles of ornament are made. The whole history of mankind shows that objects now much prized were neglected for long ages until attention was directed towards them by some cause which often was quite accidental. This was the case with gold in Europe, for only with the coming of civilised strangers from elsewhere did its exploitation begin: the hunters who lived in the gold-producing regions of France for countless centuries never, so far as is known, used it at all. The exploitation of gold and pearls was evidently the work of men who were seeking for them and attached a value to them. Can we therefore conclude that the pearl-seekers were simply attracted by the appearance of the amber, or did they already attach a value to the substance for some other reason?

Prof. Elliot Smith has, by his work on early Egyptian religion, set forth mainly in his work on *The Evolution of the Dragon*, helped greatly towards a proper understanding of some of the causes which, while producing the religious systems of the world, have, at the same time, led to the expansion of civilisation beyond the region of the Eastern Mediterranean. These researches make it possible to suggest an alternative and reasonable explanation of the search for gold, pearls and amber besides that which ascribes it to the desire to obtain wealth.

In collaboration with Mr. Wilfrid Jackson, Elliot Smith has put forward evidence which goes to show that pre-Dynastic Egyptians had, by a process of reasoning based upon the im-

¹ Jackson, *Shells*, p. 86.

portance of water as a fertilising and life-giving agent, and from other considerations, come to ascribe to the cowrie shells, which they found on the shores of the Red Sea, the properties of promoting fertility in women, of warding off illness, and of giving greater vitality to the dead, who to them were simply in a state approximating more or less to slumber. These beliefs led their women to wear girdles of these shells, and the consequent spread of the custom to the Sudan led to a great demand for them. The Egyptians thereupon began to imitate cowries in stone, wood, and in gold, of which they found immense quantities in Nubia. The use of gold for this purpose soon became popular, for the beauty, lightness and malleability of the metal made it superior to any other substance for the manufacture of imitation cowries. The model cowries were endowed with the life-giving properties of the cowries themselves, and gold itself ultimately acquired these virtues.

Not only were the properties of cowries transferred to gold, but pearls came in time, as Mr. Wilfrid Jackson shows, to acquire their virtues. For the Red Sea is a noteworthy centre of pearl-fishing, and the ancient Egyptians seeking for cowries must have been perfectly familiar with these beautiful objects, and for some reason or other they came to endow them with the same life-giving properties that cowries possessed.

The ancient Egyptians also came to endow certain trees with similar properties, chief among them being those which provided the resinous substances used in the process of mummification, and in ceremonies connected with the animation of portrait statues of the dead. "The grains of incense consisted of the exudations of trees, or, as the ancient texts express it, their sweat."² Thus these resinous substances were endowed with life-giving properties. So it is within the bounds of possibility that amber, which is solidified resin, attracted attention because of its similarity to the resinous substances to which the Egyptians attached so much importance, or because pines, the source of resin, had come to acquire

² Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, p. 37.

a significance in the eyes of the seekers after gold and pearls in the wilds of Europe similar to that which was attached by them to these substances.

Another difficulty remains to be cleared up. Why is it that people in these early days braved so many and so great dangers in order to obtain these substances? Professor Elliot Smith puts forward an explanation which certainly serves to account satisfactorily for this movement. According to him the instinct of self-preservation has driven men of all ages and of all races to seek eagerly after all possible means of prolonging life, of securing immortality and of obtaining good health and good luck while in this world. The great hold that magic, astrology, religion and other means of procuring these ends have had upon the peoples of the earth is a sufficient verification of this proposition; and, as I hope to show in the near future, this instinct has played a great part in determining the manner and content of the religious systems of the earth. On this hypothesis the localisation of ancient settlements in Europe, on gold-fields, along pearl rivers as well as near amber beds, would be an example of that all-powerful motive. The search for amber is thus merely an incident in a wider and deeper drama—the search for life, in the widest sense of the term.

The great development of scientific thought in the past few centuries, and the preoccupation of Europeans with the acquirement of wealth, has obscured in our minds the evidence for this proposition, but there is nevertheless the clearest possible witness of its importance in the lives of peoples who have not advanced so far as we have in the path of material progress. An excellent example of such conservatism is provided by the Chinese, who have maintained unaltered customs whose precise antiquity has not yet accurately been gauged. These customs and beliefs have the sanction of antiquity, their value in the eyes of the Chinese lying in the fact that they have been handed down unaltered from the ancients, in their minds all-knowing and all-wise. De Groot, the great Dutch scholar, is engaged on the task of setting forth the religious system

of this people,³ and he constantly emphasises the fact that present-day practice agrees in the closest possible manner with ancient precept.

A study of the volumes of de Groot, whose task is unfortunately not yet half completed, shows that the main preoccupation of Chinese theologians, priests, magicians and soothsayers is that of maintaining life and health, both in this world and that to come. The system of Tao is built up on the theory that the universe and its content is the product of two elements: one called Yang, which is identified with light, warmth, life and heaven; and the other called Yin, which is identified with darkness, cold, death and earth.⁴ The life of man, being composed mainly of Yang, and owing its existence to that element, must be maintained by means of Yang, and when it is departed the need of Yang substances is still pressing, for "death is merely a long protracted sleep."⁵ Certain substances are supposed to be more endowed with Yang than others, and are therefore used in order to maintain life. Chief among them is jade, which the old emperors used to swallow in solution in order to prolong their life for many years. "The most ancient native work on medicinal botany, known as the *Botanical Canon of Shantung*, declared that 'the spiritual and immortal beings, when they were on the point of departing this life, swallowed five pounds of solution of jade, with the effect that for three succeeding years their colour did not undergo any alteration.'"⁶

Closely connected in the minds of the Chinese with jade is gold. In the Yih King, the Canon of Metamorphoses, it says, "Heaven is jade, is gold." Thus "jade and gold naturally endow with vitality all persons who swallow them, in other words, they intensify their souls or 'shen,' which are like the heavens, composed of Yang matter; and they hold at a distance from the dead corruption and decay, thus furthering their return to life." Further it is said: "Both minerals have for a long series of years held a prominent place in alchemy, or the great

³ De Groot, *The Religious System of the Chinese*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 22.

⁵ i. 269.

⁶ i. 272.

art of preparing the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone, Gold and jade were put in the mouths of corpses to prevent putrefaction."⁷

The Chinese also placed cowries in the mouths of the dead for the same purpose and for similar reasons. And during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) pearls were placed in the mouths of the dead: these were supposed to be the depositaries of Yang matter, and were said to be used for recalling to life those at the point of death or already dead. They also facilitated the procreation of children, a power especially associated in Africa with the cowrie.⁸

The Chinese thus attach importance to jade, gold, pearls and cowries as being depositaries of vitalising power. Their ideas thus show a close resemblance to those of the ancient Egyptians. Not only is this resemblance so close in the case of gold, pearls and cowries, but they attach importance to certain trees as being vehicles of vitality, carriers of vital essence, of *shen*, the manifestation of Yang, the author and source of all life. They make their coffins and grave vaults more especially of fir or pine and cypress, which, of old, Chinese authors were fond of calling the chiefs of trees. In their search for the elixir of life use was made of these trees and "Taoist seekers after immortality transplanted that animation into themselves by consuming the resin of these trees, which, apparently, they looked upon as coagulated soul-substance, the counterpart of blood in men and animals. To this day, these substances, of which there are a great variety, different in virtues and qualities, occupy a very important place in the pharmacopœia."⁹

The Chinese, like the ancient Egyptians, it would seem possess ideas that gold, pearls, cowries and resinous substances are sources of vitality to human beings. The remarkable similarity between the two lists is so striking as to suggest a common source and origin. That two peoples so far apart should independently have come to choose from the multitude of living and dead objects around them just a few to be the

⁷ De Groot, i. 270, 271, 273.

⁸ i. 275, 277.

⁹ 296.

vessels of vitality is to tax one's credulity to the breaking-point. Fortunately it is not necessary to adopt so desperate a hypothesis. For it can be shown, from the distribution of gold-fields and old centres of civilisation in central Asia, that people in the past occupied the basins of the gold rivers of the region one by one, working southwards into Afghanistan and the Punjab, and eastward into Turkestan, seeking always gold and pearls and supporting themselves by the produce of their irrigation works, until finally they, it is supposed, met in the basin of the Tarim the ancestors of the Chinese, who, in their turn, migrated from gold-field to gold-field until they finally made their headquarters on the banks of the Wei, a tributary of the Yellow river famous for its gold and agriculture.¹⁰

Now that it is possible to assign a motive for the extended movement of civilisation, and the mechanism for its transference is forthcoming, there is no reason to refuse to believe that the Chinese could have derived their beliefs concerning gold, pearls, cowries and so forth from elsewhere by means of a cultural movement across Asia.

In the case of the Chinese, whose civilisation can be accounted for on the hypothesis of a cultural movement across Asia from gold-field to gold-field, the desire for life, health and immortality has played an important part in the production of philosophical systems and thus it is possible that their civilisation itself owes its existence to that instinctive process. But it must be remembered that the vast extension of the movement in search of gold, which substance many centuries before Christ was the most important form of currency, constitutes strong evidence that even in the remote ages when the civilisation of China was founded gold was sought for this reason in addition to its fancied properties as a giver of life. In the case of amber, on the other hand, there seems to be reason to believe that only its life-giving properties were responsible for its attractiveness.

This solution of the amber problem, although based upon

¹⁰ The detailed evidence I hope to put forward shortly. The evidence concerning the early movements of the ancestors of the Chinese is certainly at present problematical, but it is significant that their civilisation first sprang up in China in a region famous for gold and jade.

fragmentary evidence, at least has the merit of making it possible to explain the beginnings of European civilisation in a rational manner, as the result of the search for substances which were valued by the civilised peoples of early days partly because of their supposed virtues of endowing human beings with life and health, and partly because of the value attached to one at least of them as a medium of exchange.¹¹

¹¹ In connection with this subject, Miss W. M. Crompton points out that beads formed either of red amber or of some resinous substance closely resembling amber have occasionally been found in graves of the predynastic period in Egypt. Noteworthy examples are those found at Abydos in a grave of very early predynastic date (before Sequence Date 41). These are now in the Manchester Museum. See Ayrton and Loat, *Prehistoric Cemetery at El Mahasna*, p. 11.

SOME FEATURES OF THE SIBILANTS IN THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

BY THEODORE H. ROBINSON.

To the student of comparative phonetics the sibilants form a particularly interesting group of sounds. They are in most cases easily distinguished from other sounds, and seem to have certain fairly regular variations. All are formed by elevating the tip of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, though without actual contact, and allowing the breath to pass through the narrow aperture thus formed. The sounds are varied partly by the position of the tongue, and partly by the shape which the lips assume. Of the two factors the former is the more significant, and it is really this which gives to each sound in the group its peculiar character. Thus the tip of the tongue may be somewhat far back in the mouth, approximating to the soft palate (as in the English *sh*), or, at the other extreme, it may nearly touch the teeth (as in the English *s*). Between these two positions there may be an indefinite number of gradations, and sounds which appear to correspond in different languages may show slight differences when studied by a careful and accurate ear.

This may be illustrated from the primitive Aryan speech, which seems to have distinguished three sibilants, one at each extreme and an intermediate one. These three appear in Sanskrit, represented in the Devanagari alphabet by श, ष and स. Sanskrit grammarians gave to them the names of Palatal (*talabya*), Cerebral (*murdyana*), and Dental (*dantya*), and they corresponded to the three classes of mutes represented by च (*ch*), ट (*t*) and ठ (*th*). But they showed a tendency to merge into one another. Thus the Greek and Latin represented only one in

writing, and probably did not distinguish more in pronunciation, since they adopted a Semitic alphabet in which at least three were differentiated. They discarded one of the Semitic signs, while they used another to represent a composite sound involving a *k*. Sanskrit languages show the same tendency. Whilst the original characters are retained in writing all of them, Hindi normally uses only the dental, though the other two are retained when followed by their cognate mutes. In Bengali, on the other hand, the dental has disappeared except before mutes of the *t* class, while the cerebral and the palatal are no longer distinguishable to the ordinary European ear, both sounding like the English *sh*. It may be remarked that the native ear likewise seems to find a difficulty in differentiating these sounds. The Bengali child, like the English one, has to learn spelling.

Semitic languages appear to have distinguished originally four sibilant sounds ; that is, they had two intermediate between the extremes. This, of course, refers to the primitive Semitic speech ; later developments are almost certain to have modified the sounds, and we can at best accept the most probable conjecture as to the character of the pronunciation of each in the classical periods of the various languages.

It is now generally recognised that there are in the main four chief groups of Semitic languages, which developed largely on independent lines. These are the South Semitic, including the Arabic, Sabaeen and Ethiopic, with their dialects and variations, the Canaanite, of which the two chief representatives seem to have been Hebrew and Phoenician, the Aramean, of which Aramaic was the most widely spoken, though Syriac has left us the more extensive literature, and the languages of Mesopotamia. These last have left to us a single speech in various stages of its evolution, and the names Assyrian and Babylonian are both applied to it. The various sounds and the original types from which the sounds in any particular root have sprung are questions which must be determined to a large extent on lines of comparative philology, with special reference to the scripts of the different peoples.

In this connection it may be well to note, as a preliminary consideration, that the agreement or disagreement of the various groups is a matter of great importance. If all four groups agree in spelling a word alike, it may be conjectured with some degree of assurance that the original sound was that indicated by the particular signs which are used. If the same root appears in all four with a dental sibilant, there is good ground for believing that the dental was the sound employed in the primitive speech for this word. If three of the groups stand together against the fourth, the balance of probability lies with the three. If the numbers are equally divided, the geographical situation must be given weight. The Aramaean and Canaanite groups are nearer to one another than either is to the Assyrian or the Southern, and probably diverged from one another at a later date than the other two did from their common ancestor. If, then, the Assyrian and the Arabic agree as against the other two, they form the stronger combination, and are more likely to have preserved the primitive Semitic sound. On the other hand, the combination of the Assyrian and the Hebrew or the Assyrian and the Aramaean as against two others leaves the original sound uncertain.

The four sounds are only differentiated in the writing of southern Arabia. None of the other groups has separate signs for all four, at least in the earliest forms of their scripts, and within the southern group neither Arabic nor Ethiopic has a fourth sign. The four signs, with their normal transliteration are as follows :—

$$\text{𐤀} = s \quad \text{𐤁} = \text{ś} \quad \text{𐤂} = \text{š} \quad \text{𐤃} = \text{ṣ}$$

There is no need to suggest that there ever were any more sibilants in Semitic languages, or at least that more than four were ever differentiated. But these must be assumed to have been original, and to have been maintained or modified or lost in the various groups of languages. But it must be remembered that the various groups developed independently of one another : and that development took two forms, an alphabetic and a phonetic. A sound may have changed in the long period which

must have elapsed between the divergence of the great branches of the Semitic family and the introduction of the art of writing. There is no evidence, merely from the script, to prove that Syriac had more than three of these sibilants at the time when those who used the language first tried to represent sounds by signs. And it is possible that further modifications took place after the introduction of writing as well as before it. This has been the case in the Sanskrit languages, as has already been noted, and there is no reason why it should not have been so in the case of the Semitic peoples. At the same time, none of the Semitic alphabets attained to that scientific perfection which characterises the Devanagiri and its daughter scripts. It is fairly certain, for instance, that the letters \aleph and \beth were used in the Canaanite and Aramaean groups to represent two sounds each, and those fairly easily distinguished sounds. So different were they that in the former case the smoother sound disappeared in Assyrian, whilst the rougher is one of the two gutturals that appear in the writing of Mesopotamia. Most of the Semitic peoples seem to have adopted scripts from elsewhere, and had to be content with what they found, though in some cases the ingenuity of the scribes served to produce fresh letters by means of diacritic points. In considering, then, the sibilants in the various languages, it will be well to start from the basis of their alphabetic representation in the South Arabian dialects.

The first and perhaps the most striking fact in this connection is the stability of the \aleph . In a few cases it becomes confused with or develops into the voiced sound of \aleph^* , cf. Syriac $\aleph dq = \aleph dq$, but in the main it may be taken for granted that it persists throughout all the languages in those roots in which it was original. Thus:—

Meaning	Arabic	Hebrew	Syriac	Assyrian
hunt	صَاد	צוּר	ܥܕܐ	<i>šādu</i>
cry out	صَاح	צוּח	ܥܐܐ	<i>šāhu</i>

Instances might be multiplied. There are, of course, cases where

* Sounds like \aleph or the Arabic \aleph are here left out of consideration, since they are voiced sounds corresponding to one or other of the unvoiced sibilants.

this sign is used, and where possibly the sound represented another sibilant in the primitive speech, but these are beside the present study.

For the other three sounds, the various languages had a different set of signs, and it is here that the difficulties of disentangling the story of the sibilants become apparent. Arabic had originally only one sign to represent the three primitive sounds, though later a second was developed by the use of diacritic points. Syriac and Hebrew had two each, though Hebrew, again by the use of diacritic points, obtained an extra sign. There was necessarily some coalescence in the signs, and probably in the sounds also. Thus it is quite clear that the Arabic س represented two primitive sibilants. So, apparently the Syriac ܣ, though in each case the sounds may have coalesced before the introduction of writing. But before entering on the relations of these signs and sounds it may be remarked that the dental sibilant, *s*, is as persistent as *ʃ*, and is represented always by the same letter in each language. Thus Sabaean *s* = Arabic س = Hebrew ס = Syriac ܣ = Assyrian *s*. E.g. :—

sl 'risk,' سلا 'forget,' סלה 'reject,' ܣܠܐ 'reject,' *sl* 'throw away'
sdd 'dam,' سد 'dam,' סד 'stocks,'* ܣܕܐ 'stocks'*

where the fundamental roots are clearly the same in all the languages. And the Southern *s* seems to be represented everywhere by these same signs.

In the case of *ʃ* and *ʒ*, however, the various groups seem to have diverged. The phenomena are familiar, but it may be as well to recall them. Take first the Southern *ʃ*. This is almost invariably represented by the Arabic ش, and though it is possible that in Arabic and Ethiopic the two sounds have coalesced, it is more probable that, at first at any rate, the two different sounds were represented by the same sign. That there was an essential difference is clear from a comparison with the other groups, where, as a matter of fact, this sound practically never appears

* One of these is possibly a loan-word.

under the same guise as the dental *s*. The following roots may be compared :—

Meaning	Sabaeen	Arabic	Hebrew	Syriac	Assyrian
Man	' <i>nš</i>	انس	אנש	ܐܢܫ	<i>nišū</i>
Five	<i>ḥmš</i>	خمس	חמש	ܚܡܫ	<i>ḥamšū</i>
Ask	<i>š'l</i>	سأل	שאל	ܡܠܐ	<i>š'l</i>
Six	<i>šdth</i>	ست , سدس	שש (שדרה)	ܫܬ	<i>šeššū</i>
Write	<i>šṭr</i>	سطر (line of a book)	שטר	ܫܬܪ	<i>šṭr</i>
Drink	<i>šqy</i>	سقى	שקה	ܫܩܐ	<i>šq'</i>
Soul	<i>npš</i>	نفس	נפש	ܢܦܫܐ	<i>napištu</i>
Nine	<i>tš'</i>	تسع	תשע	ܬܫܐ	<i>tišit</i>

There are one or two exceptions, the most conspicuous being the numeral "seven," which runs the normal course except for the Assyrian form, which has *s* where *š* is required by analogy. In the absence of further explanation, this must be regarded as a phonetic accident; for the examples of the ordinary type are sufficiently numerous to enable us to regard them as a rule.

The rule itself, however, requires some comment. The fact which stands out is that whilst the Canaanite, Aramaean and Assyrian groups represent this sound by *š*, the Arabic uses the same sign as for *s*. This leads to the suggestion that originally *š* approximated to the palatal rather than to the dental in sound, and was represented by the palatal letter in those alphabets which were rich enough to be able to distinguish them. But Arabic started* with only two forms for all the sibilants, and one of these was confined to the characteristic cerebral *ṣ*. It may well be that as time passed the Arabic pronunciation underwent slight modifications, and when the scribes came to differentiate another sibilant, it was the *š* and not the *ṣ* which sounded most distinctive. For it is clearly the Arabic usage which requires explanation even more than that of the other groups.

Turning now to the fourth sibilant, the first fact that appears is that the Sabaeen *š* is represented in Arabic by ش, a com-

* That is, as far back as our data go. There may have been, in the more primitive form of the script, two signs which were later assimilated to one another.

paratively late differentiation from *س*.* This may be illustrated from the following roots:—

Meaning	Sabaean	Arabic
Rise (sun, etc.)	<i>šrk</i>	شرق
Tribe	<i>š'b</i>	شعب
Perceive	<i>š'r</i>	شعر
Ten	<i>šr</i>	عشر
Lift up	<i>nš'</i>	نشا

It is clear that the Arabic *ش* represents the primitive *š*. But in the other groups there are fresh phenomena:—

Meaning	Arabic	Hebrew	Syriac	Assyrian
Flesh	بشر (skin)	בשר	ܚܫܐ	<i>bišru</i>
Belly	كرش	ברש	ܚܫܐ	<i>karšu</i>
Couch, throne	عرش	ערש	ܚܫܐ	<i>iršu</i>
Herb	عشب	עשב	ܚܫܐ	<i>išbu</i>
Spread	فرش	פרש	ܚܫܐ	<i>prš</i>
Satisfy	شبع	שבע	ܚܫܐ	<i>š'b</i>
Put	شام	שום	ܚܫܐ	<i>šāmu</i>
Hoary	شاب	שיב	ܚܫܐ	<i>šēbu</i>
Left (hand)	شمال	שמאל	ܚܫܐ	<i>šūmēlu</i>

Exceptions to the rule illustrated are rare, and are usually capable of simple explanation. Thus in two cases the Assyrian has *s* where *š* might have been expected. For the Hebrew *בשר* ('bring tidings') the Arabic has *بشر*, but Assyrian *bsr*. There is reason here, however, to believe that the Arabic does not represent the original sound, since Ethiopic has *ṣ*. And the Hebrew form may be from an original *בסר*, assimilated from its likeness in sound to the word for "flesh." So, too, the *ש* of the Hebrew *בשה* may be for an original *ם*. In two other cases, those of the Arabic *سَلَوَى* (= Hebrew *שלו*, Syriac *ܫܠܐ*) and the Syriac *ܚܫܐ* (= Arabic *كش*, Hebrew *כדש*), the unexpected forms may be loan words.

Now in all these cases the combination of the South Semitic with the Assyrian is much stronger than that of the other two,

* The Kufic does not distinguish *ش* from *س*.

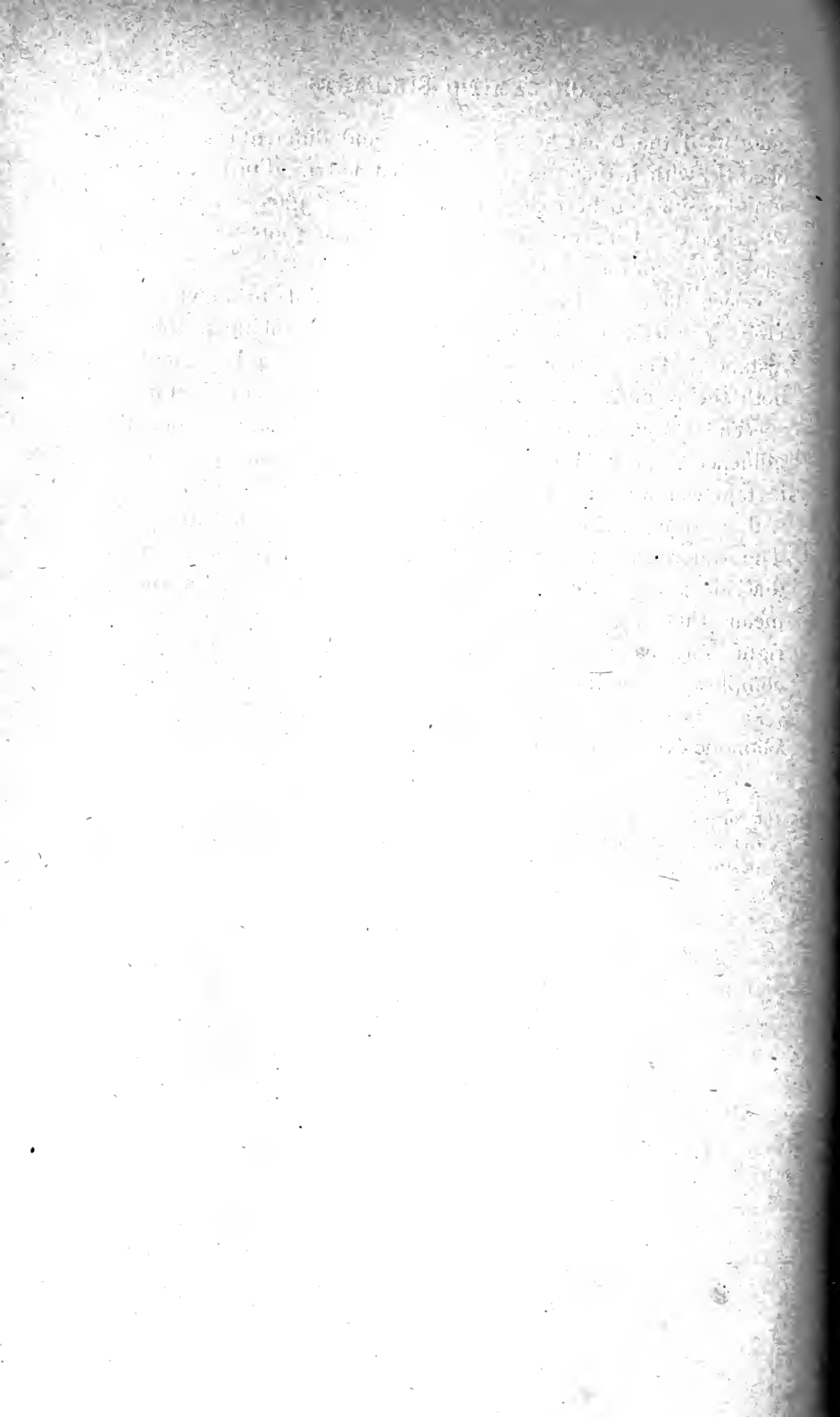
even if it be admitted that the Hebrew diacritic point represents a primitive distinction in sound. ś , then, is in all probability the original sound and sign. Indeed there is some evidence to show that even the Aramaic had ś in the first instance, cf. forms in Old Aramaic inscriptions like שר and שאל. But it is equally clear that, in Syriac and the later Aramaic at least, this group heard or developed a sound which to their ear approximated to s , and was accordingly represented by the same letter. But what about the Hebrew ש? It is commonly held that this was a separate sound, giving the tradition of a fourth sibilant, the primitive sounds thus being represented by four different signs. It is true that another view has been expressed. Thus Haupt, writing in the ZDMG for 1880 (pp. 761 ff.) on Hommel's "Zwei Jagdinschriften Assurbanipal's" states that he regards the ש as the work of the punctator, and that early Israel did not distinguish between the two sounds of ש and ש.* Nöldeke (on Wellhausen's "Text der Bücher Samuelis," ZWTh, 1873, p. 121) explains that he formerly held this view, but had been led to reject it on two grounds, (a) the interchange of ש and ש, and of ש and ש, (b) the presence of ש twice in a word like יששכר, which would seem to show that the two signs were differently pronounced. But we have already seen that the interchange of the sibilants in Arabic must be assigned to other causes, and the peculiar spelling of יששכר, and possibly other Hebrew words, may have been due either to the fact that tradition thought of two separate words rolled into one, or there may originally have been a vowel between the two שs. And two other considerations seem to point in the direction of the view adopted by Haupt. One is the obvious one that ש and ש are practically indistinguishable in sound. Forms are not uncommon in which the two letters interchange in Biblical Hebrew, and in post-Biblical Hebrew ש is often represented by ש. If the Hebrews had desired to represent a sound so closely approximating to that which is indicated by ש, it is at least probable that they would

* The present writer finds himself in general agreement with Haupt, but his conclusions were reached independently, and apparently along different lines. He has, therefore, developed the subject as it appealed to him.

have used the 𐤀 as the Syrians did, and differentiated later, if need be, with a diacritic point on that letter. Further, there is some reason to believe that in the Canaanite* glosses to Assyrian words on the Tel Amarna tablets, the 𐤁 was represented by the cuneiform sign for š . Thus we have $\text{šatē} = \text{𐤁𐤌}$.

Such direct evidence as there is, then, points to the view that Hebrew in its script differentiated only three sibilants in the first instance. The primitive s is represented by 𐤀 , š by 𐤁 , and for both the primitive ś and š , perhaps hardly distinguished in the speech of Canaan, they used the form 𐤁 . Later, under the influence of their Aramaic speaking neighbours, they pronounced certain words with s instead of ś . These were naturally words with a primitive ś , which the Aramaeans now sounded like the s . The difference in pronunciation was then represented by a diacritic point. That over the left prong of the letter simply means that it is to be pronounced like 𐤀 , while that over the right may have been introduced somewhat later for greater completeness in the distinction. The equations $\text{س} = \text{𐤁} = \text{ś}$ and $\text{ش} = \text{𐤁} = \text{š}$ are to be explained on grounds of independent phonetic evolution in the various groups.

* It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remark that Hebrew was probably not the original language of the Israelites, who seem to have adopted a Canaanite speech instead of their earlier Aramaic on their settlement in Palestine.



THE HEBREW שְׁהָרִים

BY MAURICE A. CANNEY.

THE word *saharōnīm* occurs three times in the Old Testament and denotes non-Israelite ornaments. In Judges viii. 21, 26 they are Midianite ornaments placed upon camels; in Isa. iii. 18 they are foreign adornments worn by the women of Jerusalem. The word is usually translated "crescents." It is clearly a derivative from שָׁהַר (Arab. *shahr*), which, as G. B. Gray says (*The Book of Isaiah* in *ICC*, p. 73), "occurs not only in Aramaic literature" (see Levy, *s.v.* סְהָרָא, סִיְהָרָא), "but also in early Aramaic and in South-Arabian inscriptions as the name of the moon, or moon-God." The analogy of 'ēshōn, which clearly means "little man" and is used of the pupil of the eye, suggests that *saharōn* means "little moon." Gesenius-Kautzsch (*Hebrew Grammar*, § 86g) denies indeed that the form is a diminutive and translates "artificial moon," but without sufficient reason. In Judges viii. 21, 26 the interpretation of the Vulgate is doubtful; in both passages the word seems to be rendered by a doublet. In Isa. iii. 18 the Vulgate translates by *lunula*; and in all the three passages the Septuagint has μνησκόι. It may be said, therefore, that the Latin and Greek translators understood the word as a diminutive. Gray translates in Isaiah "the moons," and explains "pendants in the shape of the moon." G. F. Moore (*Judges* in *ICC*, p. 227) renders "crescents" and explains (v. 21) "necklaces or collars (v. 26), the elements of which were little golden crescents." Apparently he takes the word as a diminutive. He adds that "riding camels are still often decorated with jingling strings of cowrie shells and metal crescents. C. F. Burney (*The Book of Judges*, 1918) translates "crescents," and as regards the form of the word seems to accept the decision of Gesenius-Kautzsch. All three com-

mentators agree that the ornaments were (or were originally) amulets.

G. F. Moore's reference to cowrie shells is particularly interesting, for according to G. Elliot Smith (*The Evolution of the Dragon*, 1919, p. 156) pearls found in oysters and used as a surrogate for cowrie shells were supposed to be little moons, drops of the moon-substance (or dew) which fell from the sky into the gaping oyster. In the *Journal* for 1918 he explained that the Red Sea cowrie shell, which simulates what Semitic-speaking peoples still call "the giver of life," came to be regarded "as an appropriate amulet to add vitality to living or dead, to ward off danger to life or to give renewed supply of life-substance to the dead. But the circumstances of its original symbolism made it also potent to increase the fecundity of women and to facilitate birth. When the moon also came to be regarded as a controlling influence over these physiological processes in women the moon was drawn into the circle of elixirs of life." Then the pearl found in a shell came to be regarded "as a heaven-sent fragment of moon-substance and the quintessence of life-giving substance." Finally where shells were not easily procurable, models were made of them in gold. It seems clear, therefore, to the present writer that *saharōn* is really a diminutive meaning "little moon" and denotes either a "pearl" or a cowrie shell modelled in gold.

SOME NEW PUBLICATIONS

THUREAU-DANGIN and Scheil have done excellent work in classifying the Sumero-Babylonian signs, but one can hardly say that their lists have done much to facilitate the work of the student. It is obvious that if the study of Assyriology is to be encouraged the work of learning the cuneiform script must be facilitated as much as possible, and this can only be done by classifying the Sumero-Babylonian signs as well as the Assyrian signs in such a manner as to enable the student to learn them and find their values when required with comparative ease. This seems to have been the great object which Professor S. A. B. Mercer had in view when he set himself to compile his book, *A Sumero-Babylonian Sign List* (Columbia University Press, 25s. net; English agent, Humphrey Milford), and students owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his work.

The author commences his work with a "Guide to the Order of Signs," where he shows the manner in which he has classified and arranged the signs in the subsequent sections. Then he arranges the most important archaic signs, leaving a considerable space at the end of the chapter so that the student may enter new and variant signs as he meets with them. Now as to the arrangement of the list itself. This consists of three columns. In the first is the Archaic sign, in the second is the Assyrian equivalent, and in the third is the transliteration. In speaking of this division one is reminded of the similarity it bears to many of the tablets and fragments from Kouyunjik now in the British Museum (K. 4372). These documents give in long narrow columns lists of Archaic Babylonian characters, sometimes with, sometimes without, their Babylonian equivalents, and are of value in enabling the student to obtain an idea of what the original line-forms of the various characters were like.

In the next section Professor Mercer gives a list of signs from

Ur-Nina to the Neo-Babylonian Period. Here the pages are divided into four columns. The first gives the Sumero-Babylonian sign; the second the Assyrian equivalent; the third the transliteration, and the fourth the period to which the sign belongs; whilst space is again left at the end of the section for the addition of new and variant signs. Then the Sumero-Babylonian numerals, weights and measures, and finally the Assyrian signs, are arranged in order that the student may identify each sign from the group without difficulty. The work will certainly prove very useful to students who do not wish to consult the much larger works of Brünnow or Barton, which contain many rarer signs and more unusual equivalents.

The only criticism which the present writer would like to make is that he considers it inadvisable on the part of the author to have given besides the Sumero-Babylonian signs in Arabic numerals the date to which he considers the signs to belong. The author follows the period adopted by Barton in his "Babylonian Writing." But the periods which Barton suggests for many of the signs are disputed by scholars and are still *sub judice*. It is therefore hardly advisable to introduce in a work of this kind which is intended for beginners questions which are still the subjects of discussion by scholars.

M. H. F.

During the past year Sir J. G. Frazer has added to his other services that of publishing a voluminous work on *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (Macmillan & Co., 1918, three volumes, 37s. 6d. net). It need hardly be said that he has constructed a rich storehouse of information on the subject, and that he writes with the charm for which he is noted. No one who is engaged in Old Testament research can afford to neglect these volumes. Whether other students of the subject will interpret the data in the same way and arrive at the same conclusions is another question. The author frankly admits this. The study of folklore is still in its infancy, "and our theories on the subjects with which it deals must probably for a long time to come be tentative and provisional, mere pigeon-holes in which temporarily to sort the multitude of facts, not

iron moulds in which to cast them for ever." This is particularly true of Oriental and Egyptian folklore, for new texts are being discovered or old texts are being reinterpreted in the light of new linguistic knowledge, continually. We have only to think of the work which is being done in Egyptology by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Dr. A. M. Blackman, or in Assyriology by Dr. L. W. King. There is indeed much to be said for the view that the time has not yet come to deal adequately and satisfactorily with Old Testament folk-lore. But the fact is that Dr. Frazer's work, being a comparative study, travels far beyond the Old Testament. For here are to be found creation myths and deluge stories, for instance, gathered from every part of the Old and New World. Whatever supplementation, readjustment and correction may have to be made from time to time, much of the material in these volumes will stand unaltered.

Professor G. Elliot Smith's book, *The Evolution of the Dragon* (Manchester University Press, 1919), is concerned with the same kind of research, but the author cuts out new paths and travels along them with great daring and with wonderful skill. A more stimulating and suggestive work we have not read for a long time. Professor Elliot Smith relentlessly pursues the Dragon in every direction, ferrets him out of his hiding-places, and strips off his multiform disguises. The title of the book gives no idea of the variety of subjects touched upon or of the surprises in store for the reader. Who, for instance, would expect to find chapters on "Incense and Libations"? But they are there, and are of extraordinary interest.

Dr. C. F. Burney has published two important works—his Schweich Lectures for 1917 (*Israel's Settlement in Canaan: The Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background*, Oxford University Press, 1918, 3s. 6d. net) and his *Book of Judges* (Rivingtons, 1918, 21s. net). The Lectures may be regarded as supplementing the Commentary on the historical side. In them he discusses all the external allusions which seem to bear more or less directly upon the early history of Israel and attempts to bring them into relation with the Biblical traditions.

This involves, of course, the important question of the date to be assigned to the Exodus. The Commentary is not only a worthy companion to Dr. Burney's Commentary on the Book of Kings, but represents even greater learning and riper scholarship. The Additional Notes, which are really essays on special subjects, are of great value, even if they are somewhat out of place in a Commentary. Dr. Burney has so much to say that he does not seem to know where to stop.

Dr. L. W. King's Schweich Lectures for 1916 (*Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition*, Oxford University Press, 1918, 3s. 6d. net) are of special importance, because they deal with new material which has been published in America since the outbreak of the War. "The bulk of our new material is furnished by some early texts written towards the close of the third millennium B.C. They incorporate traditions which extend in unbroken outline from their own period into the remote ages of the past, and claim to trace the history of man back to his creation. They represent the early national traditions of the Sumerian people, who preceded the Semites as the ruling race in Babylonia; and incidentally they necessitate a revision of current views with regard to the cradle of Babylonian civilisation. The most remarkable of the new documents is one which relates in poetical narrative an account of the Creation, of Antediluvian history and of the Deluge. It thus exhibits a close resemblance in structure to the corresponding Hebrew traditions, a resemblance that is not shared by the Semitic-Babylonian versions at present known.' But in matter the Sumerian tradition is more primitive than any of the Semitic versions. In spite of the fact that the text appears to have reached us in a magical setting, and to some extent in epitomised form, this early document enables us to tap the stream of tradition at a point far above any at which approach has hitherto been possible."

M. A. C.

1920-21
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MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY

SESSION 1919-1920

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Objects of the Society

- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archaeology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any possible way.
- (iii.) To issue, if possible, a Journal. If this is not possible, to print at least a Report, including abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Society.¹

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

- (a) For ordinary members, 5s. per annum (student members, 2s. 6d.).
 - (b) For Journal members, 10s. 6d., of which 5s. 6d. is assigned to the Special Publications Fund.
- Subscriptions are due in January.

PUBLICATIONS.

<i>Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society for 1911</i>	5s. od. net
<i>Journal of the Society, 1912-13; 1913-14; 1914-15; 1915-16; 1916-17; 1917-18; 1918-19;</i>	
1919-20	each 5s. od. net
<i>Manchester Egyptian Association Report, 1909-12</i>	each os. 3d. net
<i>Report of the Society, annually, 1912-13 to 1919-20</i>	1s. 6d. net
<i>List of Books on Egyptology, September 1912 to September 1913, and Catalogue of Library of the Society, 1913</i>	os. 6d. net

New Members can buy back numbers at half-price.

* Deceased in course of year.

¹ There is a *Special Publications Fund*, for which subscriptions and donations are invited.

REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

1920

POSITION OF THE SOCIETY

AT END OF SESSION 1919-20

BEFORE proceeding to any other matters, we must refer to the great loss the Society has sustained this year by the deaths of Dr. Berlin, the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. E. L. Hicks), Dr. Burrows, Dr. Johns, Dr. Bennett, and Dr. Jesse Haworth. The death of Dr. Berlin, though occurring this year, was noted in the Report for last session (*Journal*, 1920, p. 8). In the Bishop of Lincoln we have lost one of our Vice-Presidents.

To Dr. Ronald M. Burrows, late Principal of King's College, London, the Society and the cause of archæology in Manchester owe a debt that cannot easily be calculated. When in 1909 he took up his appointment to the Chair of Greek in Manchester University, he at once joined the Manchester Egyptian Association. Later he became also one of the first members of the Manchester Oriental Society. He was a constant attendant at the meetings, both as a speaker and as a member of the audience.

When Dr. Burrows first settled in Manchester, the Egyptian collection of the Museum was still housed in an ill-lighted attic. The preparation of his first address to the Egyptian Association led him to work among the objects, whereupon he became greatly impressed with the value of the collection. From that time he used all the force of his remarkable personality to hasten forward the scheme for the extension of the Museum, and when the munificence of Dr. Jesse Haworth made it possible for definite arrangements for this extension to be undertaken, he was one

of the most useful members of the Committee. He also successfully urged the re-appointment of a Lecturer in Egyptology, a post which had been allowed to lapse for some years. His intense energy, his brilliance, and his thoroughness will long be remembered by those who came into touch with him in Manchester.

Dr. Johns, late Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Assyriology, took an interest in the foundation of the Oriental Society and was a member of the amalgamated Society to the end of his life. He helped us by contributing to the *Journal* (1914, pp. 67-72). We could ill afford to lose the interest and support of so eminent an Orientalist.

Dr. W. H. Bennett, late Principal of Lancashire Independent College, rendered active and valuable service to the Society. A member of its Council, he rarely missed attendance at its meetings. He addressed us in 1915 (*Journal*, 1915, pp. 19-21), and contributed an article to a recent number of the *Journal* (1918, pp. 43-51). His loss will be felt the more keenly, because he was resident amongst us and was nearly always at hand to help us.

Dr. Jesse Haworth died on the 23rd of October, 1920 (born August 4th, 1835). His keen interest in Egyptology was manifested in many ways, of which the enrichment (indeed the *formation*) of the Egyptian Department of the Manchester Museum was not the least. A short notice will be found on p. 49 of the current number of our *Journal*. The Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society has reason to cherish his memory.

Coming now to the regular work of the year, this began badly, as the railway strike prevented Professor Flinders Petrie from opening our Session as usual on the first Monday in October. Our second date was equally unfortunate; illness prevented Dr. Blackman from keeping his engagement here, and so it came to pass that our Annual Meeting was not held until November 18th. In spite of this, nine meetings were held during the session—a greater number than ever before. Details appear on p. 8.

Besides the six deaths recorded, seven persons have resigned or allowed their subscriptions to lapse. Ten persons have joined; our total membership is now 93. As will be seen from the Balance Sheet (p. 19) this membership is quite insufficient

to enable us to continue to issue a Journal at the present enormously increased price of printing. But for the substantial help of Dr. Jesse Haworth and a few other members, it would have been impossible to issue the present much smaller number.

The number of books and pamphlets added to our collection is 13. A complete list appears on p. 17. A particularly useful exchange, very advantageous to us, is Vols. I., II., and III. of the Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology. This completes our set, and as Vol. I. is out of print we have been generously treated in the matter. Many of the other items are gifts, for which grateful thanks are returned to the donors.

M. A. C.

W. M. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1919-1920

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held on Tuesday, November 18th, 1919, the President in the chair.

A vote of sympathy with the family of the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. E. L. Hicks, was passed on the motion of Prof. Peake, seconded by Rev. H. McLachlan; also a similar vote for the family of the late Dr. Leonard King, on the motion of Dr. Bennett, seconded by Mr. M. Farbridge.

The Secretary read the Report and Balance Sheet as they appear on pp. 5 and 17.

A Council and Officers were elected as appears on p. 4.

Major John Samuels, V.D., read a Paper on "Some Curious Points in Egyptian Chronology," illustrated by a chart. He contended that many of the Egyptian Dynasties were contemporaneous—that the arrangement in dynasties was very late, and the numbering entirely fictitious.

Amongst other points he maintained that the tablets of Abydos and Saqqara are correct in placing the XVIII. dynasty immediately after the XII. He considered that dynasty XI. consisted of vassal kings ruling under the XVIII. dynasty, and cited amongst other facts strengthening this theory a remark of Mr. Lane-Poole—"On examining the earliest monuments of dynasty XVIII., we were struck by their resemblance to those of dynasty XI., a resemblance which would, if we had no historical evidence on the other side, justify the leap of the Tablet of Abydos from dynasty XII. to XVIII." If, as Major Samuels suggested, these dynasties XI. and XVIII. were contemporaneous, there was nothing remarkable in a likeness between their monuments. As to later history, the Shishak who opposed Rehoboam is usually taken to be Shishak I. Major Samuels suggested Shishak III. as the more likely, for his queen was the only one who bore the same name, Tahpenes, as the queen mentioned in I. Kings xi., 19.

The general result of Major Samuels' re-arrangement and compression of the dynasties was to bring up the date of Menes to about 2300 B.C.

THE SECOND MEETING was held on Monday, December 8th, 1919, the President in the chair.

Dr. A. S. Yahuda, Professor of Jewish History and Literature in the University of Madrid, gave an address on "Monuments of Moorish Times in Mediæval Spain." The lecturer gave an

account of the advanced state of learning and civilisation attained by the Moors in Spain. The rule of the Arabs was animated by a desire to treat all races and religions with equal tolerance, and thus allowed of a culture in which all talents grew up unhampered. The literary revival of Bagdad under the Abbaside dynasty spread to Spain, and great schools were founded. When, a century later, political anarchy was rife in the East, the Arabs in the West were in tranquility, and learning spread, reaching its zenith in Cordova, in the days of Abd-el-Rahman III., 912-961 A.D. Thousands of youths flocked thither, and every theological doctrine and philosophical system was studied, together with medicine, astronomy, etc. The number of houses was 120,000 for a population of 2,000,000. The library of Khalif-al-Hakim consisted of 400,000 Arabic MSS, together with works in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Hebrew and Persian. Of the other great centres of culture, Granada, Valencia, Saragossa and Seville were specially mentioned. From Granada came the great architects, including the designer of the Alhambra.

Dr. Yahuda concluded with the hope that, under the protection of England, the races of the Near East would again take a place in the forefront of civilisation. The lecture was illustrated by magnificent slides, from Dr. Yahuda's own photographs and coloured under his direct supervision.

The THIRD MEETING was held at the University on Thursday, January 15th, 1920, Dr. W. H. Bennett in the chair. It had been announced that Dr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, would lecture on "Recent Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees." But the Chairman reported that Dr. Hall had been prevented from coming to Manchester. The manuscript of his lecture and the lantern slides had, however, been sent to Professor Canney, who had undertaken to read the lecture. The lecture described the excavations carried out by Dr. Hall at the expense of the Trustees of the British Museum in Southern Babylonia, during the spring of the year 1919. Dr. Hall continued the excavation of Abu Shahrein (the ancient Eridu), begun in the previous year by Capt. R. Campbell Thompson, carried out extensive explorations of the mounds of Tell Muqeyyir (the ancient Ur), and discovered and partly dug an entirely new site four miles from Ur, called Tell el-Ma'abed by the Bedu' or nomad desert Arabs, and Tell el-'Obeid by the Muntefik or settled tribes. Tell el-'Obeid is the name officially adopted,

though it is probably a corruption of the other name, which appears appropriate (it means "Mound of the Place of Worship"), since this small *tell* was apparently a temple of the goddess Damkina, spouse of Enki or Ea, the god of the abyss, who was worshipped ten miles off at Shahrein.

At el-'Obeid, Dr. Hall found prehistoric remains of the same kind as those found by Capt. Thompson at Shahrein, including fine pottery of De Morgan's first and second styles, like that discovered at Susa, Musyān, and Bander Bushīr. The chief find, however, was of rather later date, though still very early: a cache of early Sumerian copper heads and figures of lions and bulls (some of the lions' heads being life-size), with eyes inlaid in red jasper, white shell, and blue schist, and with red jasper tongues. These were perhaps the supports of a great copper throne. Another remarkable object here found was a copper relief of Imgig, the lion-eagle of Lagash, holding two stags by their tails. This relief measures eight feet by four. It is unhappily in very bad condition, and will need to undergo a long process of restoration. Inscriptions show that these objects are of the age of Ur-Nina (c. 3500 B.C.).

At Ur itself, Ê-Kharsag, the palace of King Dungi (c. 2500 B.C.), was found and excavated. It yielded a certain number of interesting objects, especially tablets of a later period (eighth—seventh century B.C.) when the ruined ancient building was re-occupied and partly rebuilt by a colony of priests attached to the local worship of the Moon-god. The original building of Ê-Kharsag is interesting architecturally, and its walls are in fair preservation up to a height of five or six feet. Other early buildings were investigated, and a number of the tombs of late period, which everywhere cover the mounds, were excavated.

At Shahrein, the most interesting discovery made by Dr. Hall was that of early Sumerian houses, built of crude brick covered with hard white stucco, often decorated with horizontal bands of white and red.

The first publication of the results will shortly be made in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

The FOURTH MEETING was held at the University on Wednesday, February 4th, 1920, the President in the chair. Dr. Theodore Robinson, of University College, Cardiff, delivered an address on "The Structure of the Book of Jeremiah." He explained that the book was compiled from three main sources:

(1) oracular ; (2) autobiographical ; and (3) biographical. He then considered the structure of the book in the light of a study of Old Testament rhythm and metre. He urged that where, as is often the case in Jeremiah, we have two versions of the same utterance and one of them is metrically more complete, metre is proved to be a reliable instrument for correcting the shorter text, especially when it is found that the corrections are supported by the Septuagint. If, as he believed, the prophet spoke in ecstasy, the original oracles will have been brief utterances full of feeling and fervour. These floating oracles were gathered up first into small collections. Then they were enlarged, and various editorial amplifications were added to them.

The FIFTH MEETING was held at the University on Wednesday, February 25th, 1920, Professor Sir William Boyd Dawkins in the chair. Professor Maurice A Canney delivered a lecture on "The Significance of Names," and considered in special detail a custom which proves to be particularly widespread—that of change of name. The lecture is printed in full on pp. 21-37 of the *Journal*.

The SIXTH MEETING of the session was held on Monday, March 15th, at 8 p.m., the President in the chair. Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister gave an account of past archæological excavation in Palestine in which the first point was a reference to the work of the pioneers in the field—the Americans, Robinson and Eli Smith, who identified a great number of sites, as did also the German, Titus Tobler. The establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund followed in 1865. They undertook a geographical survey of the land. The country west of the Jordan was taken in hand between 1872 and 1878, Captain Conder and Lieut. (afterwards Lord) Kitchener being, amongst others, engaged on the work. The result was seen in the great map finally published. This contains over 10,000 names. The country east of the Jordan was a more difficult undertaking, but maps of the Moabite district and of the Hauran, the Jaulan and the Ajlan regions were made by Conder and Schumacher.

Finally, in 1912-13, the land south of Beersheba to the frontiers of Egypt and from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Akaba, was mapped by Capt. Newcombe and Lieut. Grey, R.E., and explored archæologically by Messrs. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence in 1913-14. The archæological results were published in the "Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1914." The map, for obvious reasons, could not be issued

during the war. As to actual excavations, the chief results were—at Jerusalem, Capt. Warren, between 1867 and 1870, made plain the original lie of the land, proving that the shallow valley between the Eastern and Western hills, now nearly filled up with debris, had once been a deep ravine, and that the temple must have occupied the eastern hill, on the site now known as the Dome of the Rock. The statement of Josephus, that Herod had doubled the area of the temple courts and built a great gallery supported by an arch across the valley between the eastern and western hills, was proved correct.

The biblical Moriah and Zion were both names for the same hill, the temple mount. The present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was shown to be on the site originally selected by Bishop Macarius in the time of Constantine. In all these researches the aid of Dr. Schick, a resident in Jerusalem, was of the greatest value to the Palestine Exploration Fund. In 1878 the German Palestine Society was founded.

The tracing of the walls of Jerusalem has been to a great extent accomplished, one of the most important discoveries being made by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in 1893, when they completed the tracing of the course of the oldest wall, on the south side of the city, discovering an ancient portal which is probably the valley gate mentioned by Nehemiah. In 1900 the American School of Research was established, and under its auspices the palace of Omri, Ahab, Jehu and Jeroboam has been brought to light by Reîşner at Samaria. At Gezer, the Hebrew town was built over the old Canaanite city. Both were excavated by the lecturer, and many Egyptian articles dating from Hyksos to Greek times were found. The frequency of figures of Ashtoreth in the Hebrew town shows how the Israelites continued the religious rites of their predecessors.

Under the Canaanite city were the cave burials of the still earlier inhabitants, whom we term Amorites. At Jericho, walls 26 feet high had been laid bare. Other interesting excavations had been at Megiddo, and Ta'anak, Tell Zakaryeh and Beth Shemesh.

At Mareshah the cemeteries contain painted tombs of the Greek period, and the plan of the Seleucid town has been completely made out. The American University Expeditions of 1900 and 1910 have recorded a large region full of buildings of the late Roman period in North Syria. Other Roman remains

of importance are the temple and Basilica at Samaria, discovered by Reisner, and the fine record of the rock tombs at Petra and the stone cities of Bosra and the Hauran published by Brunnow and Domaszewski in 1904. Much still remained to be done, in fact merely a beginning had been made. It was hoped that the establishment of the recently founded British School of Archæology in Jerusalem would be the greatest aid and stimulus to future work. He would leave it to Professor John Garstang, the newly appointed Director of the School, who was present for the purpose, to explain its plans and objects.

Professor Garstang, being called on by the President to deliver his address, stated the chief objects of the School to be :—

To facilitate the researches of scholars.

To provide instruction and guidance for students.

To train archæological administrators and excavators.

To assist in every possible way the excavations and explorations of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The scope of periods and subjects would be unrestricted. No modern religious or political question nor any personal matter of religious persuasion will be allowed to affect the policy of the School.

Arrangements had been concluded for cordial collaboration with the American School of Research ; in fact, the two bodies would share a building, the Lord Bute House, just within the Jaffa Gate. There will be common lecture rooms, museum and library, and unnecessary duplication of effort would be avoided. Thus, the British School will make a catalogue survey of all known archæological material in Palestine, and the assistance of volunteers with special tastes and training was needed. The American School will be responsible for the library. It was hoped to obtain the co-operation of the French archæologists also in the scheme, and this seemed likely to be effected.

The Committee wish to establish a close relationship with the Universities, and with theological and educational institutions. They are of opinion that many graduates may thus find useful and interesting work. The scope of the School would cover the Amorite and Hittite country of the north, but not the more western parts of Asia Minor. Mesopotamia would be for the present included.

In reply to a question, Professor Garstang stated that as regards the study of Assyriology, Professor Clay, of the American School,

would help all British students, there being no Assyriologist in England who could go. Another question, as to accommodation for students in Jerusalem, brought the reply that a hostel would probably be founded and until then rooms would be taken in hotels. A vote of thanks to the speakers was passed on the motion of Professor A. L. Dickie, seconded by Mr. Slotki.

The SEVENTH MEETING of the Session took place at the University on Friday, April 30th, at 8 p.m., the President in the chair. Mr. W. J. Perry delivered an address on "The Origin of Warlike States."

He stated that the study of Heraldry gives results which go to verify the theory which he had deduced from the study of ruling groups, namely, that all over the world, dynasties have sprung from members of ruling classes, and not spontaneously in many places. This, if true, leads to the conclusion that all ruling classes in the world are derived from one original group, and harmonises with the claim of Professor Elliot Smith that all civilisation originated in the Egypto-Sumerian region.

The EIGHTH MEETING of the session took place on Friday, May 14th, at 8 p.m., the President in the chair.

Professor T. Eric Peet delivered an address on "El Amarna, the City of Egypt's Heretic King." He gave an account of the main facts of the life of Akhenaten, and showed slides illustrating the life of the court of El Amarna as shown in the tomb sculptures of that place, and also exhibited slides of some sculptured figures of the royal family, discovered in the latest excavations. The lecturer remarked that the religion of Akhenaten was generally considered to be a monotheism, but its monotheistic character was disputed by some, Mr. Peet thought, on rather slight evidence. It was, at any rate, an attempt to look at things not merely from an Egyptian point of view, but from that of all mankind.

Mr. Peet's views appear more fully in the current number of our *Journal*.

The NINTH MEETING of the session was held at the University on Monday, May 31st, at 4-30 p.m., the President in the chair. The first business of the meeting was to send, on the motion of Professor Unwin, seconded by Rev. L. W. Grensted, a message of condolence to Mrs. Burrows, wife of the late Principal of King's College, London, on her husband's untimely death.

The President then called upon Mr. W. J. Perry to read a paper communicated by Mr. Northcote W. Thomas on "The Periplus of Hanno."

Mr. Thomas pointed out at the outset that one of the difficulties of the subject is the possible disappearance of islands and capes which once existed, and the alteration in the courses of rivers. He then considered the climatic changes that have come over North-West Africa. In reference to the fiery torrents and the blazing mountain which Hanno says he saw towards the end of his outward run, Mr. Thomas gave the following explanation. "At various times from February to April, that is to say at the end of the dry season, it is the custom all over negro Africa, so far as I know, to burn the dry grass and bush, by which is meant the saplings of a few years' growth. No one who has been in Africa can doubt that what Hanno saw was the burning of the bush, probably in April or early in May ; not only does the season agree with what Hanno would choose for navigation and for colonisation as the best time of year, but the zoological evidence is so far as the changed climate will allow us to judge, consistent with the same hypothesis. The fires seen by Hanno have been regarded by some as evidence of volcanic action ; but what volcano would be pouring down floods of lava along a stretch of coast that would take Hanno a week's run to clear ? The fiery torrents, which at first sight support the volcano theory, are in reality so much evidence for the bush-fire hypothesis. For when the grass on a mountain is fired, the gullies, with their ranker vegetation, remain untouched ; when some weeks later they are fired, it is as though streams of fire were flowing down a mountain side." As regards zoology, Hanno tells us that he found elephants, hippopotami and crocodiles in a lagoon by the sea early in his voyage. After discussing the size and capacity of the ship in which the voyage was made, Mr. Thomas called attention to two points of fundamental importance. These are : (a) the meaning attached by the Carthaginians to the words " Pillars of Heracles," and (b) the position of Cerne. These points decisively settled, we have nothing but plain sailing before us. " Now the Carthaginian Herakles was known as Melcarth ; he had a temple at Cadiz, which was by some later writers substituted for Gibraltar as one of the Pillars. If that was the case, the other pillar must have been Cape Spartel, and the difficulties as to currents in the Straits would not arise. This view clearly agrees with the distance, 105 miles to Mehediya, in two days at the rate of 50 miles a day." As to the position of Cerne, the fundamental point is that beyond it was a lagoon

with three islands larger than Cerne ; a day's sail brought Hanno to the end of it, and he found great mountains overhanging the water, in which dwelt wild men. " Now I take it as axiomatic that Cerne, only half a mile in circumference, is not necessarily in existence at the present day, any more than the three islands in the lagoon, which was part of the course of a river. If the river has not dried up, it may have shifted its course and left the islands dry land. But the decisive factor is the mountain chain ; only in the south of Morocco could Hanno find a river up which he could sail for a day and find mountains." And the only river likely to satisfy the conditions is the Wad Draa. " I therefore identify the Draa with the great river, and place Cerne between Agadir and Cape Nun, between four and five hundred miles from the Pillars. This solution disregards the datum that the run from Carthage to the Pillars was equal to the run from the Pillars to Cerne ; but the terms of the statement are so indefinite that little is to be gained by making it a factor in the premises." After giving his own rendering of the Greek of the Periplus, Mr. Thomas tabulated his identifications as follows:

ANCIENT NAME			MODERN NAME			REMARKS
Thymaterion	...	...	Mehediya	...	...	105 miles, two days
C. Soloeis	...	...	C. Cantin	...	...	134 miles, three days
Lagoon	...	...	?			a half day
Colonies : Karikonteichos,						
Gytte, Akra, Melita,						
Arambys	...	...	Safi, Mogador, Agadir, and			
			two more unidentified			
Lixus	...	...	? Wad Sus, or Wad			
			Mesa			
Cerne	...	...	Near Wad Asaka	...		79 miles, or two days
Chretes (Chremetes)	river Wad Draa					
Second river	...	...	Wad Sibika			
Return to Cerne (possibly from the north, as it is not stated that the rivers lay south of the island)						
Wooded mountains	...	...	C. Verde	...	...	937 miles, twelve days
Great gulf	...	...	Gambia R.	...	...	channel runs SSE ; 70 miles, two days.
Hesperou Keras	...	...	Rio Jeba	...	...	230 miles, five days
Theon Ochēma	...	...	Kakulima Mt.	...	...	180 miles, four days
Notou Keras	...	...	Sherbro River, west			
			outlet	...	...	140 miles, three days
Gorilla Island	...	...	In Sherbro River			

After the reading of the paper, Mr. Perry added some comments as to ancient West African civilization, and a discussion followed. A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. N. W. Thomas concluded the business.

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.

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Books may be borrowed (by members only) by applying to the Treasurer-Secretary at the Manchester Museum, from whom also the Catalogue published 1913 may be had, price 3d.

Gardiner. A. H. and Langdon, S.¹

"The Treaty of Alliance between Hattusili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II. of Egypt." (Reprint from *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. VI., 1920, pp. 179-205.)

Gibb Memorial Series²—

El Khazreji's "History of the Resûli Dynasty of Yemen." Text (Arabic), part 2. London, 1918.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vols. IV. and V.³

The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, 1918-19.

The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society, vol. XXXIV., 1918.⁴

The Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, vols. I., II., III., and IV. part 1.⁵

Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.⁶—

"Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology," vols. I.-III. (completing our set).

Macler F.—

"Le Texte Arménien de l'Evangile d'après Matthieu et Marc," Paris, 1919, pp. 645.

Moscona, T. D.⁶—

Analecta—Ægyptiaca—"The Holy and Apostolic Church of Alexandria." Æthiopica, "The Story of the Greek Pilgrim Fathers." Appendix on "The Holy and Orthodox Church of the East," etc., Manchester, 1920, pp. 40.

"Red Easter in the Dodecanese," Manchester, 1919, pp. 31.

Musée Guimet, Paris.⁵—

"Revue de l'histoire des Religions," vols. LXXVI.-LXXIX.

Zervos, S.⁶—

"Le Dodécānēse—Histoire—Services—Droits," pp. 80, map and 322 illustrations.

University of Uppsala.³—

"Le Monde Oriental," vol. XII., 3.

Herrn D. W. Myhrman's "Ausgabe des KITĀB MU'ID AN-NI'AM WAMUBID AN-NIQAM. Kritisch beleuchtet von K.V. Zetterstéen, Uppsala, 1913."

Scripta Pontificii Institutii Biblici.—

"Orientalia," Nos. 1 and 2, Rome, 1920.⁸

¹ Presented by Dr. Gardiner.

² From the Trustees, Gibb Memorial.

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EXCAVATION AT TELL EL-AMARNA.

THE concession of the site of Tell el-Amarna, which has belonged to the German Orient-Gesellschaft for many years, has passed, with the event of the war, from the Germans to the Egypt Exploration Society (late Egypt Exploration Fund). This transference to an Anglo-American organization is very appropriate. The Germans are unable to go on with their work, their rights have lapsed, and the archæologists of the Allies step in. The Germans have of late years found many extremely interesting antiquities, among them *chefs d'œuvre* of Egyptian art, in the course of their work, several of the most important of which have gone to Berlin. The museums of Great Britain and the United States will succeed to the heritage of the Germans, and the flow of these fine antiquities will be directed in the direction of Britain and America. The strictly scientific side of the work is guaranteed by the name of Professor T. E. Peet, of Liverpool University, who is in charge, assisted by Mr. F. G. Newton, the well-known archæological architect, who has worked in Crete, in Palestine, and in Sardinia with Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, the colleague of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos. It is hoped that the great importance of this work, with its possibilities of epoch-making discoveries either of more artistic triumphs of the age of Akhenaten, of inscriptions throwing further light on his religious monotheistic heresy, of (possibly) more cuneiform tablets like those found in 1887, which have illuminated for us a whole period of early Palestinian and Syrian history, or of (again possibly) new finds of Mycenæan ceramic like those discovered there by Professor Petrie—will attract practical help in the shape of donations and subscriptions that are badly needed if the work is to be carried on in worthy succession to that of the Germans. These should be sent to the Treasurer at the Offices of the Society, at 13, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. The Honorary Secretary of the Society, Dr. H. R. Hall, will always be glad to answer any queries with regard to the work (address H. R. Hall, Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A., The British Museum, London, W.C.1.).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NAMES

BY MAURICE A. CANNEY.

MY concern at present is with personal names. Books have been written on the origin, formation and meaning of proper names; but so far as I know, no book has been written on what may be called for want of a better description the philosophy of personal names. Articles have appeared in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and elsewhere,¹ but for the most part much of the material is still scattered. When I first became interested in certain ideas and customs relating to names, I imagined that they were peculiar to one or two peoples. But on investigating the matter I have discovered that the same and other ideas and customs have prevailed among many peoples. I have found, in fact, that the subject is a far larger one than I can hope to deal with fully in one paper. I propose therefore for the most part to confine myself to a few aspects of it.

In the first place, note should be taken of the mysterious virtue which many peoples ascribe to a name. Morris Jastrow, Jr., in reference to Babylonia and Assyria, remarks (*The Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1915, p. 428) that "to have a name," according to ideas widely prevalent in antiquity, was to exist. Hence in an Assyrian Creation tablet, to express the idea of non-existence of heaven and earth, it is said that they were not named. Among the ancient Egyptians a peculiar potency was ascribed to a name. "Nothing could exist without one, and the obliteration of a name meant annihilation for its owner. The conferring of a name could give life to an inanimate object. To know the secret name of a god was to become his equal" (Marian Edwardes and Lewis Spence, *Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology*, p. 21, N. 1). Among the Hebrews, when the prophets wish to describe a person or place by its real character they often say that he or it will be called or named accordingly (*Isa.* i. 26, iv. 3, xxx. 7, lxii. 4, 12, *Ezk.* xlviii. 35, etc.).²

¹ F. C. Conybeare's *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, 1909, contains an interesting chapter (xiii.) on the "Magic use of Names"; and there is a valuable section "Personennamen" in R. Andree's *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (1878, pp. 165-184). Since the above was written, Edward Clodd has published a work, *Magic in Names* (1920).

² S. R. Driver, *Deut.* in ICC; cp. Kirkpatrick on Ps. v. 11.

In *Isa.* xviii. 7, the Temple is called "the place of Jehovah's name." In another well-known passage (*Prov.* xviii. 10) it is said that "the name of Jehovah is a strong fortress, to which the righteous runs and is safe." C. H. Toy explains that the name is equivalent to the person "because it expressed his nature and qualities (as early names commonly did), and because in very ancient times the name was regarded (perhaps in consequence of its significance) as having an objective significance and as identical with its possessor, and the locution which thence arose survived in later times when the old crude conception had vanished" (*Proverbs in ICC*). Giesebrecht defines a name as meaning, according to the ancient conception, "a something parallel to the man, relatively independent of its bearer, but of great importance for his weal or his woe, a something which at once describes and influences its bearer" (*Die alttest. Schätzung des Gottesnamens*, 1901, p. 94). But the idea of the objective significance of a name is not confined to Orientals. The Eskimos of North America, for instance, "say that a man consists of three parts, his body, his soul, and his name, and of these the last mentioned alone achieves immortality" (D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 1897, p. 92). Among the Ancient Britons to be without a name was considered a very serious matter, for they "seem to have held the primitive theory that the name and the soul are the same" (C. Squire, *Celtic Myth and Legend*, p. 263). John Rhys calls attention in *Celtic Folklore* (1901, vol. ii., p. 625 f.) to a striking similarity between the Welsh *enw*, "name," and *enaid* "soul," and between the Irish *ainm* "name" and *anim* "soul." He thinks that such words are all to be referred to the same origin in the Aryan word for "breath or breathing," and infers that "the Celts, and certain other widely separated Aryans, unless we should rather say the whole of the Aryan family, were once in the habit of closely associating both the soul and one's name with the breath of life." He puts the interesting question: "In the case of the savages who name their children at birth, is the reason ever advanced that a name must be given to a child in order to make it breathe, or, at least, in order to facilitate its breathing?" In his account of the Borneo head-hunters of the East Indian Archipelago, W. H. Furness writes: "The receiving of a name is really the starting-point of life; and the bestowal of a name by the parents is probably the most serious of parental duties,

and to be performed with ceremonies proportioned to their rank. So essential is the ceremony of naming that in the enumeration of a family an unnamed child is not counted ; and should a child die before the ceremony of naming, a Kayan or Kenyah mother would mourn for it no more deeply than had it been stillborn. This is true even when an unnamed child lives to be nearly a year old." (*The Home-Life of Borneo Head-hunters*, p. 18.)

It is not surprising that the name of a god is a power in itself or at least a symbol of power. Lenormant notes that "in all the religions of ancient Asia the mysterious Name was considered a real and divine being, who had a personal existence and exclusive power over both nature and the world of spirits" (*Chaldean Magic*, p. 104). In Assyrian legend when the god Marduk triumphs over the monster Tiamat, all the gods assemble to celebrate the great deed. "They bestow fifty glorious names upon him, the names symbolising the attributes of Marduk, on whom, as the head of the pantheon, the qualities of all the gods and goddesses grouped around him, as courtiers gather around the royal throne, are thus heaped. Enlil steps forward and bestows his name as 'lord' upon Marduk. The bestowal of the name, according to the prevalent view in antiquity, carries with it the power and position of the one bearing it. The god Ea follows Enlil's example, and thus without a conflict the rule passes to Marduk" (Jastrow, *Civ.*, p. 212 f.). The name has a magic potency. Among the Babylonians, the names of the gods were employed in exorcising demons. In Egyptian legend there is a well-known story which relates that when Isis wished to be equal to the great god Ra, she could realize her wish only by gaining knowledge of his secret name. "This Ra was not willing to divulge, but he was old at this time, and Isis got him into her power, for she formed a serpent from his slaverings and the earth and set it in the path of the god, who was bitten and brought near death ; then Isis undertakes to heal him by her magic powers if he will tell her that which she desires to know, and after putting her off with his other names, Khepera, Ra, and Tem, he finally consents that 'it shall pass from his bosom to hers.' So Isis became endowed with supreme godhead" (Marian Edwards and Lewis Spence, *Dict. of Non-Classical Mythology*, p. 93 ; see further, Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 154 ff. ; Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, p. 229 ff.). In the Hebrew Old Testament there is an expression which occurs very

frequently, "to call by the name of Jehovah." As Dr. J. M. Powis Smith says (*Zephaniah* in *ICC*), this idiom "probably had its origin in the cultus and dates from the time when the mere utterance of the divine name *per se* was believed to exercise a kind of coercion upon the deity himself. To possess the name of the deity was to hold a certain power over him and thus, within certain clearly defined limits, to make him subservient to the worshipper's will."

We find in a Christian papyrus of the third or fourth century an explanation of some of the most powerful Biblical names, such as Jo, Ariel, Azael, Jonathan, Joseph. This, as Camden M. Cobern says (*The New Archæological Discoveries*, (2) 1917), may have been used as an amulet of protection. Again, in a Christian exorcism recently published "the ancient writer attempts to put magical bonds upon an enemy who he supposed was working evil through the 'spirit of evil whom the angel Gabriel released from fiery chains.' The 'name' of Jesus and certain 'scripture' narrating the power of our Lord in Galilee is 'proclaimed' to this evil spirit, and he is bidden to flee to the woods on the mountain top and leave the tormented Christian alone" (Cobern). Cobern points out that "Jews, Christians, and heathen, alike, believed in the power of magical names, and therefore Hebrew archangels, together with Greek, Roman and Egyptian deities, appear most confusedly mixed up in some of these conjurations. L. R. Farnell (*The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, 1912) remarks that this belief in the magic or mystic power of a divine name was current among the old Hellenes. The Hellenes employed the name in conjuration or invocation, "though there is reason for thinking that in their more virile period they were less in bondage to it than were the surrounding peoples."

It is a common practice to keep the real name of the Divine Being secret. Only priests and other privileged persons might know the name. Ordinary people must not pronounce it. The idea according to many writers was to prevent rivals or adversaries from learning and making use of it. D. G. Brinton notes (*op. cit.*, p. 98) that in America "the Choctaw Indians regarded the name of their highest divinity as self-existing, essential, and unspeakable." When it was necessary to refer to him, they adopted a circumlocution. Speaking of the tribes of the North-West Amazons in America, T. Whiffen says: "One of the first difficulties met with when dealing in detail with the

religion of these peoples is their refusal to use the true name of any spirit or deity. This has root in the same reason that ordains they shall never disclose their own names, nor voluntarily except on rare occasions, that is without questioning, the name of their tribe" (*The North-West Amazons*, 1915, p. 220). S. Reinach points out (*Orpheus*, 1909) that among the Romans "the true names of the divinities were taboo, because had they been revealed, it would have been possible for enemies to invoke them. This is why our knowledge is confined in the main to epithets, which do duty for divine names. Rome itself had a secret name, used in the most solemn invocations. The secret of this name was so well kept that we do not know it to this day" (*cp.* De Quincey, *Collected Works*, A. & C. Black, 1896-7, i., p. 88 N.). The same writer notes that "the so-called names of the Gallic deities, of which we know several hundreds, were really nothing but epithets; if these gods had actual names, we can only conclude that they were kept secret" (p. 120). It is well known that we do not know for certain the true pronunciation of the Hebrew divine name JHVH. During the period of the Second Temple, this name "was declared too sacred for utterance, except by the priests in certain parts of the service, and for mysterious use by specially initiated saints. Instead, *Adonai*, 'the Lord,' was substituted for it in the Biblical reading, a usage which has continued for over two thousand years" (K. Kohler). In Rabbinic literature we find that "reverence for the Deity caused the Jew to avoid not only the utterance of the holy Name itself, but even the common use of its substitute *Adonai*. Therefore still other synonyms were introduced, such as 'Master of the Universe,' 'the Omnipotence' (*ha Geburah*), 'King of the king of kings' (under Persian influence—as the Persian ruler called himself the King of Kings); and in Hasidean circles it became customary to invoke God as 'our Father' and 'our Father in heaven.'" Kohler suggests that the rather strange appellations for God, 'Heaven' and (dwelling) 'Place' (*ha Makom*), seem to originate in certain formulas of the oath. In the latter name the rabbis even found hints of God's omnipresence: "As space—*Makom*—encompasses all things, so does God encompass the world instead of being encompassed by it" (*Jewish Theology*, 1918, x.). E. Kautzsch thinks that perhaps "in the Decalogue the commandment not to take Jahweh's name 'in vain' meant originally that men were not

to compel action on the part of the sacred name by invoking it " (Hastings' *DB*, extra vol., p. 640b, *N.*). So also *Amos*, vi. 10, is explained by Giesebrecht (*op. cit.*, p. 128), according to Kautzsch, as " expressing a dread of provoking the fiercely enraged deity still further by uttering his name (*cf.* also viii. 3)."

Ordinary individuals also often have a secret name. A. J. N. Tremearne notes (*Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, 1913, p. 178) that in Africa " all Hausa children have a secret and a public name, the first being known only to themselves." Speaking of the natives of Northern India, W. Crooke says : " In any case, the name is a sacred portion of the infant's being, and to ensure that it may not be communicated to some malevolent stranger who may work evil by its means, one name is conferred for everyday use, while another is whispered in the child's ear, and by it no one dares to address it " (*Natives of Northern India*, 1907, p. 199).

Let us turn now to a curious custom which proves to be extraordinarily widespread—that of change of name. My interest in this custom was first aroused some years ago by certain statements in the Old and New Testaments. It has been re-awakened by many statements found in other writings. I will take the Biblical statements first.

In *Gen.* xxxii. 28, it is said, " Thy name (Jacob) shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel." In *Exod.* vi. 3, even God is represented as changing his own name.¹ In *Num.* xiii. 16, it is said : " And Moses called Hoshea, the son of Nun, Joshua " (*cf.* *Deut.* xxxii. 44). In *Judges* vi. 32, it is stated : " Therefore on that day he called him (Gideon) Jerubbaal " (*cf.* vii. 1). In *II. Sam.* xii. 25, we read : " And the Lord God loved him (Solomon) ; and he sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet, and he called his name Jedidiah, for the Lord's sake." In *II. Kings* xxiii. 34, we are told that " Pharaoh-necoh made Eliakim, the son of Josiah, king in the room of Josiah his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim " (similarly *II. Chron.* xxxvi. 4). In *II. Kings* xxiv. 17, it is said that the king of Babylon made Mattaniah, brother of the father of Jehoiachin, king in place of Jehoiachin, and changed his name to Zedekiah. The king known as Uzziah appears also as Azariah, and Marti has suggested that his name was changed when he ascended the throne. In

¹ G. A. Barton notes (*The Religion of Israel*, 1918, p. 58) that, " in the ancient East the introduction of a new name meant the introduction of a new deity."

Dan. i. 6, it is said that the names of Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah were changed by the prince of the eunuchs to Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. In *Isa.* lxii. 2, it is said: "And thou shalt be called by a new name which Jehovah's mouth will determine." In *Matt.* x. 2, we read of "Simon, who is called Peter" (*cp.* *John* i. 42), and in *Acts* xiii. 9 of "Saul, who is also Paul."

These passages seem to indicate clearly that the practice of changing the name was prevalent among the Hebrews and some of the surrounding peoples. A change of character or of status was marked or symbolized by a change of name. That a change of status should be so marked may seem natural enough. It may seem natural that a conqueror or overlord should change the name of subject princes. It may seem natural that a conqueror should adopt a more potent name for himself. "When the successful general Pul usurped the throne of Assyria he adopted the name of one of the most famous of the kings of the older dynasty, Tiglath-pileser. His successor, another usurper, called Ululâ, similarly adopted the name of Shalmaneser, another famous king of the earlier dynasty. It is probable that Sargon, who was also a usurper, derived his name from Sargon of Akkad, and that his own name was originally something else" (A. H. Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, 1900, p. 46 f.). The same practice is found among the Chinese. "Emperors and their relations have in all ages changed their names just as the common people. Many Sons of Heaven changed theirs at their appointment to the dignity of heir-apparent or at their accession, and Suh Tsung of the T'ang dynasty did so five times before he mounted the throne" (De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. vi., p. 1137). It is natural that slaves (as among the Arabs) should change their names on manumission.¹ It may seem natural also that soldiers should have changed their names on entering the Roman Army (*cp.* Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 170).

The Hebrew word for name is often used, in reference to Jehovah, in the sense of character. It is not surprising, therefore, that a change of character should be felt to necessitate a change of name. Jacob became Israel, Hoshea became Joshua, and Solomon became Jedidiah, because in each case a meta-

¹ Cp. H. Ling Roth. *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, ii., p. 275.

morphosis in character had taken place. These are known examples. It may be presumed that there were many other cases in which the change has not been recorded. Possibly the names of the Hebrew prophets as preserved to us are not always the names which they originally bore. It has been suggested by Professor Whitehouse that Isaiah, for instance, meaning "Yahweh has helped," was perhaps not his original name. It may have been assumed in reference to his prophetic vision and call. It is certainly a fact that many personal names in Hebrew point to characteristics or circumstances which can hardly have been present in infancy. If Jacob means "supplanter," which is of course doubtful, the bearer of the name can hardly have been so called before he began to practise the art of supplanting. If, again, it is equivalent to Jakob'el and means "God follows," *i.e.*, "God rewards," the bearer of the name can hardly have borne it before God began to show marks of His special favour. The name Saul means "asked." He may of course have been so called because his parents asked or prayed for a son. But the narratives that record his elevation to the kingship suggest that his name is closely linked with the circumstances in which Israel became a monarchy. It may be presumed, I think, that this was a new name. Saul, after he is anointed king by Samuel, is told by the prophet that he will meet a band of prophets, who will be playing musical instruments and prophesying. Then the Spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon him, and he will prophesy with them and will be turned into another man (*I. Sam.* x. 5 *f.*). To many it has seemed strange that an obscure person should have been chosen to be king of Israel. But this narrative seems to indicate that the king was a man who was prepared or fore-ordained for his new calling by a change of character. Saul was transformed. The Saul who was made king was not the man he had been before.

The metamorphosis of Saul is particularly interesting because he is brought into association with the "sons of the prophets." From *II. Kings* vi., it appears that these "sons of the prophets" formed communities of their own and lived in wooden dwellings.¹ Their settlements have been described as training-schools for religious purposes. "To these 'colleges' may probably be

¹ One cannot help thinking of the Men's House of so-called Secret Societies. See Hulton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 1908.

traced the preservation of national traditions and the beginnings of historical literature in Israel" (W. T. Davison in *Hastings' DB* in one vol., p. 758). D. B. Macdonald suggests (*The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 16) that such prophets played the part of the wandering gleeman, scalds, bards, and minstrels of mediæval Europe. It may be presumed, I think, in any case that there were prophetic and other guilds or orders into which novitiates were initiated and in which they went through a course of training. We have already seen that Saul was to be turned into a new man. How was the metamorphosis effected? Apparently by initiation into the mysteries of a prophetic guild. In *John* iii. 3, Jesus says to Nicodemus, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God." From the references to a change of name in the Old Testament and New Testament, we may infer also perhaps an acquaintance with initiation ceremonies in which the novitiate received a new name.

The practice of taking new names is found also among the Arabs. "Names can be changed," says Professor Margoliouth (*Hastings' E.R.E.*), "either by those who hold them or by some person whose authority they recognise; numerous cases are recorded in which the Prophet changed the names of his followers, and occasionally we read of the sovereign doing this at a later period; Omar it is said thought of compelling all Muslims to take the names of prophets." Margoliouth adds that converts to Islam "even in these days usually change their names, ordinarily selecting one which belongs to an Islamic saint." Burton states that when a man becomes a Fakir or Darwish, he is regenerated and assumes a new name (*Al-Madinah and Mecca*, Bohn, new ed., i. p. 14, N. 3). We find the same practice in India. The Mehtars, the caste of sweepers and scavengers, worship a saint named Valmiki, who was originally a hunter named Ratnakar. When he was purified and became a saint, Brahma changed his name from Ratnakar to Valmiki. Among the Jews "names are still changed on conversion; thus a Jewish convert to Christianity is given a new name, such as Paul, while a convert to Judaism receives a patriarchal name (Abraham, Sarah or the like)." The quotation is from I. Abrahams' article in *Hastings' E.R.E.* The original significance of the custom as part of the initiation into a society in which the novitiate was metamorphosed has been forgotten.

We have another example of change of name among later Jews. In the Middle Ages a person who was dangerously sick would change his name. The explanation usually given is that he did so in the hope that the Angel of Death, who summons persons by name would be baffled by the change (so Joseph Jacobs, *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, ix., 1905, p. 159). The custom is known as "meshanneh shem," and is referred to in the Talmud. Here again the original significance of the custom seems to have been forgotten, and a new explanation invented. The custom is as a matter of fact widespread. Among the Todas of Southern India when a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner (W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, p. 625). In Posso, a district of Central Celebes (Malay Archipelago), when a child is very sickly, a new name is bestowed on it (Frazer, *Folklore in the O.T.*, p. 172). Edwin H. Gomes notes (*Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, 1911, p. 102) that it is not unusual to find among the Dyaks children of seven or eight years old who have not yet received a name. "Even when a name is given to a child, it is often changed for some reason or other. The Dyaks have a great objection to uttering the name of a dead person, so if the namesake of a child dies, at once a new name is chosen. Again, if a child is liable to frequent attacks of illness, it is no uncommon thing for parents to change the name two or three times in the course of a year." The reason for this, says the writer, "is that all sickness and death is supposed to be caused by evil spirits, who are put off the scent by this means" (p. 103). Among the Swedish Lapps, according to Högström, when a child was ill, the Lapps changed its name (C. J. Billson in Hastings' *E.R.E.*). Among the Ainu of Japan, if a child is of a weakly disposition, its name is changed. John Batchelor (*The Ainu and Their Folk-lore*, p. 244) mentions the case of a sickly child, whose name was changed by her parents and friends no less than four times." Among the Chukchee, a tribe in north-eastern Asia, "sometimes the name is changed one or more times if the child does not thrive, but it is only a shaman or 'knowing person' who can perform the necessary ceremony" (M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 1914, p. 135). W. H. Furness, on meeting a native of Borneo, whom he thought he had seen before, but whose name was different, asked whether he was not the same person. "You are quite right, Tuan," replied the native, "but since you were here I have been exceed-

ingly sick—so sick that the evil Spirits were trying to make my soul wander away from my body (and here his voice dropped to a whisper); so I changed my name; now they will not know where to find me”’ (*The Home-Life of Borneo Head-hunters*, p. 16). C. Rose and W. McDougall say that in Borneo “the name first given to any person is rarely carried through life; it is usually changed after any severe illness or serious accident.” This, they say, is “in order that the evil influences that have pursued him may fail to recognise him under the new name” (*The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, 1912, i., p. 79).

Names are changed also if they resemble those of dead persons. Among the Chinooks of North America “near relatives often change their name under the impression (according to Bancroft) that spirits will be attracted back to earth if they hear familiar names often repeated” (H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, i., 1875, p. 248). “The principal cause of the change of name in grown-up persons among the Kanowits is the objection people have to uttering the name of a dead person” (Brooke Low, quoted by H. Ling Roth, ii., p. 275). Again, among the Nicobarese (of Nicobar, one of the East India Islands), it is common for a mourner “to assume some new name for him or herself, which, in a great measure, accounts for the fact that some individuals have borne several different names in the course of their lives” (J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the O.T.*, p. 236). C. G. Seligmann tells us (*The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 1910, p. 629) that among the Southern Massim “the names of the dead become taboo immediately after death. This avoidance of the name of a dead person is carried so far that their names are actually dropped from the common spoken language of the district while their memory lasts. As a result of this many words are permanently lost, or revived with modified or new meanings.” Even common words. For “the new name given to a man or woman on the death of his or her eponym was, and still very generally is, that of some object of common use, and when a person to whom a name of this sort has been given dies his eponymous object must be given a new name” (p. 630). It may well be doubted, I think, whether *fear* of departed spirits is the true explanation of this custom.¹ Rather,

¹ Freud’s psychological explanation of this fear of or hostility to departed spirits (*Totem and Taboo*, 1919) is ingenious but not convincing. It is based, moreover, on an uncritical use of his ethnological authorities.

it may be presumed that for some reason or other the name has become sacred, like the name of a god, and may not be "taken in vain."

It is well known that adolescence marks a distinctly new stage in life. If primitive folk were not aware of the real nature or the correct explanation of some of the changes that take place, they recognised at least that boys and girls were in process of becoming men and women. It was realised that they must be given a new position in tribal society. The assumption of this new position involved certain ceremonies of initiation, amongst which we often find the bestowal of a new name. John Rhys notes that "many, perhaps most, of the nations who name their children at their birth, have those names changed when the children grow up. That is done when a boy has to be initiated into the mysteries of his tribe or of a guild, or it may be when he has achieved some distinction in war. In most instances, it involves a serious ceremony and the intervention of the wise man, whether the medicine-man of a savage system, or the priest of a higher religion. In the ancient Wales of the *Mabinogion*, and in pagan Ireland, the name-giving was done, subject to certain conditions, at the will and on the initiative of the druid, who was at the same time tutor and teacher of the youth to be renamed" (*Celtic Folklore*, 1901, vol. ii., p. 630 f.). In his account of the interior tribes of East Africa, Karl Weule (*Native Life in East Africa*, 1909, p. 280) writes as follows: "As is often the case with primitive peoples, and with the Japanese at the present day, we find that every individual on being formally admitted to the duties and responsibilities of adult life assumes a new name. The natives hereabouts do not know or have forgotten the original significance of this change, but we are not likely to be wrong in supposing that the new name also means a new person, who stands in quite a different relation to his kinsmen and his tribe from his former one." Much the same thing is found among the Kurnai of South-East Australia. "In the Turrbal tribe a name was usually given to a child when about a week old. It was either the name of a place, or a bird, or an animal, or fish. Another name was given to a boy when he was made a young man. But a girl retained her child's name through life. When a man was thirty or forty he received another name. They were never named after their father or mother" (A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, pp. 736-9). In the Urabunna

tribe of Central Australia each man has two names. One of these is given to him by his father when he is a little child, the other is given to him by the father's father when he is initiated " (B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904, p. 582). Among the Kurnai of Gippsland, Australia, a youth receives a new name when he is initiated into manhood. "The child's name became a 'secret name' when the individual subsequently acquired a new one at initiation, or as an elder. To mention the secret name would be a serious breach of custom and good manners " (L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, p. 191).

A. L. Cureau has much that is interesting to say about change of name in Negro society. "The awakening of the reproductive functions is considered by the African Negro as a new birth, the dawning of a personality distinct from that of childhood. Up to that time the boy is regarded as blended with his father's existence, but after puberty he becomes a new individual " (*Savage Man in Central Africa*, 1915, p. 167 f.). The transition from childhood to manhood is a renewal of the individual which is marked by various customs as a true and perfect metamorphosis. "To begin with, the person concerned appears clothed from this time on—at least, as much so as local fashions permit—and he changes his name." In some tribes the new name is chosen arbitrarily, while in others it follows a rule. "Moreover, various practices and ceremonies surround this entrance into the new life, for it is a sort of initiation, in a vaguely religious form, and may consist variously of antics, instruction, advice, and admission into a sort of college or association." Cureau remarks that "the first investigators who noticed that certain classes of individuals in Negro society appeared to be different from the common herd hastened to say 'secret societies' " (p. 323). But he thinks that "secret societies" suggests to us preconceived notions, and that the true state of affairs is much simpler. "Our positive and indisputable information in regard to this problem is very slight. We know that at a fixed period of life, near the age of puberty, certain young people, sometimes the males only, and sometimes females as well, are taken from their villages and secluded in a remote part of the bush for an indefinite time. It seems that these secluded persons are not all placed in the same class, but are divided into different colleges." We have no exact knowledge about this peculiarity, but from what we do

know we can make certain deductions. "What is important and indubitable is that the seclusion almost always begins by a sham representation of death, in which the subject either feigns to sink down unconscious, or some stupefying, intoxicating, or hallucinating drug is administered to him" (p. 324).¹ Whatever happens, the common people must be prevented from finding out the mysterious secrets. "The adepts are finally supposed to be resurrected, and then they return to the village; but they carry the idea of resurrection to such an extent that they no longer recognise their former companions or their brothers, fathers, or mothers. Last of all, we must note the use between adepts of a conventional form of speech, which is very rudimentary and appears to be either an archaic dialect or a rude imitation of the common language" (p. 324 f.). The same idea of a simulated death and a re-birth seems to be found in Melanesian society. W. H. Rivers thinks "it is quite clear that ideas concerning death are closely associated with the *Tamate* societies. Not only does the word *tamate* mean "ghost" or "dead man," but in the ceremony of initiation there is evidence of the representation of death and return to life. Thus, the beating of the novice and the destruction of his house during initiation is very suggestive of a ceremonial death, and so is the wailing of his female relatives when the candidate leaves them" (*The History of Melanesian Society*, 1914, vol. I., p. 127).²

When a person is to change his nature, he dies and is re-born into a new order. A youth is transformed into a mature man or elder, a commoner into a chief or aristocrat, a medicine-man into a priest or prophet, and even a sick into a sound person by re-birth. I have mentioned the metamorphosis at puberty. The same kind of metamorphosis "offers the male citizen an additional opportunity of transforming himself, of emerging from the crowded ranks of the servile herd, and of taking his place in the governing class" (Cureau). Bancroft remarks that among the so-called Snakes of California "any great feat performed by a warrior, which adds to his reputation and renown, such as scalping an enemy, or successfully stealing his horses, is celebrated by a change of name" (*Native Races*, i., 1875, p. 438).

¹ Hutton Webster (*op. cit.*, p. 179 f.) notes that in the Congo region of Africa the initiation ceremonies for boys at puberty are supervised by fetish-doctors.

² Cp. the account of Australian initiation ceremonies in J. G. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, i., p. 44.

Among certain peoples there is a curious institution known as the Sweathouse, and the practice of taking a sweat-bath is not uncommon. Among the Ojibwa of North America, "during the process of purgation, the candidate's thoughts must dwell upon the seriousness of the course he is pursuing and the sacred character of the new life he is about to assume" (Hoffman in *Seventh Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, p. 204, quoted by Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 1908, p. 18, N. 1). R. Andree (*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, 1878, p. 175) mentions that among a certain tribe in Kadiak Island, North America, when a man is affianced, he takes a sweat-bath with his future father-in-law, and henceforth bears his name. Speaking of China, De Groot remarks that to improve the fortune by changing the name is an old custom. "About sixteen hundred years ago Koh Hung wrote: 'Lao-tsze has often changed the name which he bore in his childhood and maturity and Tan was not the only name he had. The following was the reason why he did so: the Canon of the Nine Divisions of the World and of the Numbers Three and Five, as also the *Yuen ch'en king*, say that there are in every human life conjunctions of dangers; and when these conjunctions occur, life may be prolonged and dangers overcome by changing the names of childhood and maturity, and thus remaining in concordance with the Universal Breath. Even at the present day many persons who have the Tao act in this wise'" (*The Religious System of China*, vol. vi., p. 1137).¹

Consider now the case of prophets and priests. "It is at their rulers' reputation for holiness," says Cureau (*op. cit.*, p. 326) that primitive men have always paused, while waiting until future ages should educate their consciences, as has not yet occurred among either the Negroes or ourselves. But that this sacred character may influence the multitude, the one who assumes it must be invested with a halo of religious ceremony, must impress the credulous common people, dazzle their imagination, and show them that the governing caste consists of superior beings verging upon the superhuman. It is true that these beings come from the same surroundings as the populace itself; but they must be thought of as dead to their original condition and re-born to a higher one." Hutton Webster notes that

¹ This passage is interesting in connection with John Rhys' suggestion (mentioned above) that the Celts and other widely separated Aryans seem to have associated the name with the breath of life.

"among the various tribes on the Gold Coast and Slave Coast, applicants for membership in the priestly orders serve a novitiate for several years, and learn the various secrets of the craft. Dancing, sleight-of-hand, and ventriloquism are important subjects in the course. Some instruction in the healing art is also imparted. Novices are taught a new language and after their consecration as priests are given a new name" (p. 176). Speaking of the Orphic mysteries, Jane E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, p. 594) writes: "In the highest grades of initiation not only was there a new birth but also a new name given, a beautiful custom still preserved in the Roman Church."

I come now to re-birth after sickness. In reference to Central Africa, Cureau writes as follows: "In a general way the Natives hold that every serious event in physical life is equivalent to death followed by resurrection. When a man recovers from an illness, or escapes some peril to his life, he is considered in popular parlance to 'have made a new skin.' He is no longer the same person: nominally he is someone else, and this resurrected individual often changes his name in order to emphasize the fact that he is another man" (p. 167). Among the Ojibwa Indians of America, one of the most important duties of members of certain magical fraternities or secret societies is the healing of the sick. "The close relationship which the members are believed to have with the spirits gives them much consideration as workers in magic. Part of the initiatory training consists in the study of the traditional pharmacopœia of the society. The belief in the mysterious powers of the members is illustrated by the common custom of the *Midewiwin* and *Mitawit* societies of initiating a child who has been under the charge of the healers. The patient is brought into the sacred structure, or lodge, where the evil *manidos* can be expelled from the body. If the child is restored to health, he is regarded as a regularly initiated member, though additional instruction is always given him when he reaches maturity" (Hutton Webster, p. 179 f.). We may take it as certain that the child received a new name. Frazer notes (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 319) that some Eskimos "take new names when they are old, hoping thereby to get a new lease of life."

It seems evident that the idea running through some of these customs involving change of name is really that of re-birth.

When a boy becomes a man he is born again. When a commoner becomes a chief, he is born again. When a man becomes a priest or prophet, he is born again. When a person is ill and recovers, he is born again. Full admission into the new life depends upon the performance of various ceremonies, the initiation into certain mysteries. Whatever may have been thought about a future life in another world beyond the grave, there has been in all ages and among many peoples a belief that in this life and in this world it is possible to bury the old self and bring to birth a new one.

To live again in this life, one must be born again. One must be named again. Birth and re-birth having so much in common, it is probable that rites peculiar to the one came to be transferred to the other. Among the ancient Mexicans, for instance, a child seems to have been re-born five days after birth. We are told that "the second bath of the child, on the fifth day after birth, was made the occasion of a great ceremony. After the midwife, who acted the part of priestess, had poured water over the child's head, she harangued the powers of darkness, adjuring them to depart, for 'this our child lives anew and is born again; once more it is purified; once more it lives through the grace of our Mother, Chalchihuitlicue'" (*Folklore*, xviii., 1907, p. 261 f.). Among the Ainu, at the name-giving ceremony, a boy is often presented with a wine-cup. Batchelor (*op. cit.*, p. 247) thinks "the presentation of a wine-cup would seem to convey rather the idea of priesthood, and indicate that libations are to be offered with it, for the principal function of a priest (the head of every family is a priest among the Ainu) seems to be the offering of libations of wine." But it is more probable, I think, that the cup represents the draught taken by a candidate for re-birth, the elixir of life.

THE PROBLEM OF AKHENATON

BY T. ERIC PEET.

No event in Egyptian history appeals more strongly to popular imagination and interest than the so-called religious revolution of Amenophis IV., or Akhenaton. The reasons of this are not far to seek, and we have but to open the text books to find such alluring phrases as "the world's first individual" and "the anticipator of much that is best in Christianity" applied to the reformer. When we come, however, to ask exactly how much is known of the nature and causes of the revolution we find that here, as in most other Egyptian problems, our knowledge amounts to very little, and that we have been in the habit of taking a great deal for granted. This has become the more apparent during the last ten years, for the whole question of Akhenaton's reform, which had been inclined to stagnate, has been brought into new prominence by the German excavations at El Amarna, the reformer's capital. In Germany itself a discussion, not altogether free from acrimony, has been in progress for some time regarding the nature and origin of the new religion and the new art which accompanied it.¹ The purpose of the present article, which makes no offer of anything original, is to place before British readers some of the results, if results they can be called, of this discussion, and to give some idea of the position in which the Akhenaton problem at present stands, together with the lines which future research is likely to follow.

The bare facts are these. In 1375 B.C., Amenophis III., the last of the great warrior-kings of the XVIII Dynasty, died, leaving the throne to a young son named like himself Amenophis. Not later than the sixth year of his reign this youth had apparently effected a complete break with the State worship of Amun-Re and moved his court and his capital downstream from Thebes to El Amarna, where he founded a new city, Akhetaton, "Horizon of the Disk," in which to worship the Aton, or disk of the sun. In this new capital he reigned for ten or eleven more years, devoted

¹ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 52, pp. 73 ff., and 55, pp. 1 ff. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Nos. 50, 52 and 57. *Ämliche Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Band 34, pp. 127 ff., Band 35, pp. 134 ff., Band 40, pp. 42 ff., 211 ff., 281 ff.

to the worship of his god, and heedless of the alarming despatches which kept pouring in from all parts of the Asiatic empire that his fathers had founded, despatches which a lucky chance has preserved to our day in the famous Tell el-Amarna tablets. Within half a dozen years of his death the system which he had founded fell to pieces, the old state religion was fully restored, and the name of Akhenaton was but a hated memory.

Such are the main facts. But now the problems begin. How was such a revolution possible in the most conservative country in the ancient world? Was the change gradual or sudden? Was it a real philosophical movement or a mere political reaction against the power of Amun and his priesthood? Was Akhenaton's religion a true monotheism or not? How and where did the new and strange art of his reign arise? Can we believe that a mere boy in his teens was the leader of so vast a movement?

These are a few of the problems, no one of which can be dealt with independently of the rest. We shall not attempt to solve them; indeed, it may be that our data are not sufficient to give a solution. We shall, however, try to indicate the lines along which such an attempt would have to be made and to point out some of the facts which would have to be taken into account.

We may appropriately begin with the early years of the change. In the tomb of the king's mother Ty at Thebes was found a coffin inscribed with the name of Akhenaton, and beyond all doubt intended for his use. In this coffin lay the body of a man, which in the nature of things one would expect to be that of Akhenaton himself. This body has been minutely examined by Professor Elliot Smith, who at first maintained that the age at death could not have exceeded 26, and in response to strong pressure from the archaeologists would only concede the possibility of another four years at the utmost. Akhenaton, then, died not later than his thirtieth year, and, as we have dates at El Amarna extending up to year 17, it is clear that he was at most 13 years of age when he came to the throne. Now at El Amarna he marked out the bounds of his new capital with a number of rock stelæ, most of which bear one and the same inscription and are dated in Year 6 of his reign. Three, however, K, X and M, bear a different inscription and are believed by some to be earlier. And indeed the dating, which has survived in a damaged condition on one stela only, has been read as 4 both by Lepsius and Davies, though by both doubtfully. And their doubt is justified,

for the day, 13 (if this be the correct reading),¹ and the month (fourth of the winter season) are precisely those of the other group of stelæ, so that unless these last were erected on an anniversary of the first the probability is that Year 6 and not Year 4 is the correct reading on K, X and M.²

But the decisive piece of evidence against the reading Year 4 lies in a letter written to the king in Year 5 by a steward of his in Memphis. The titles here given to the king, "Great of rule in Karnak," "Ruler of Thebes," as well as the references to Ptah and other gods make it manifest that the king was then still in Thebes and had not as yet abandoned the old religion. In the face of this it is practically impossible to uphold the dating Year 4 for the three stelæ K, X and M, and we must attribute these, together with the rest, to Year 6, when the king moved his court to the new site.

Now unless we are prepared to deny that the mummy found in Akhenaton's coffin was that of the king himself, we are faced with the fact that he was not more than 13 at the time of his accession, and that only six years later, when he was no more than 19, he broke away from orthodoxy, changed his name from Amenophis ("Amun is satisfied") to Akhenaton ("The Disk is pleased"), and moved his capital to El Amarna. Can we credit a boy of this age with such remarkable precocity? If we may accept the maximum figure of 30 for the age at death, and consequently that of 13 for the age at accession, there is no very serious difficulty here. The Egyptian boy developed very rapidly both in body and in mind, and as it is evident, whatever view be taken of the philosophical value of the reform, that its author was a man of lofty intellect and great imaginative power, we should be justified in attributing to Akhenaton a precocity even in advance of that usual in such a climate. If this is borne in mind there will be no necessity to fall back on the old suggestion that the boy was merely a tool in the hands of some older personage whose name was, for political reasons, kept deep in the background. The name most often mentioned in this connection is that of his mother, Ty, and the name appealed strongly to those who, on no evidence whatsoever, wished to trace the origin of the Aton-worship to Syria, it being frequently stated in the

¹ Davies, *El Amarna*. V., p. 28. n. 9.

² The reference to Year 4 in line 20 of the inscription of Stela K does not in the least confirm the reading Year 4 in line 1. (*loc cit.* n. 8).

text-books that Ty was of Syrian parentage. However, the discovery of the tomb and bodies of Yuia and Tuia, the parents of Ty, makes it fairly certain that both were of Egyptian blood, and it is probable that the theory of a Syrian origin for Akhenaton's reform has had its day and will not return.

Can we find any anticipations of Aton worship in earlier times in Egypt? In the Berlin Museum is a block of stone from Karnak which shows a very interesting relief. On the left is the Sun-god depicted in the usual Egyptian manner, namely as a human being with a falcon's head surmounted by the sun's disk. Above him stood the name "Horus-of-the-Horizon, who rejoices in the horizon in his name of Shu who is in the Disk." On the right is a king of usual type, named in the cartouche as Neferkheperure Uanre, *i.e.*, Akhenaton. Now the name given to the Sun-god here is precisely the name given by Akhenaton to his new deity, the Aton or Disk, and so at first the only point of interest in the relief appeared to be the portrayal of the new god in this old Sun-god form instead of in the form of the disk with rays invariable at El Amarna. The stone acquired a very different significance, however, when Borchardt noticed that the cartouche had been altered in antiquity and that what originally stood there, and was still traceable, was the name of Amenophis III. The consequences of this discovery are obvious. Already under Akhenaton's father, Amenophis III., there existed a temple at Karnak dedicated to the Aton or Disk under the full name of "Horus-of-the-Horizon who rejoices in the horizon in his name of Shu who is in the Disk." This temple was clearly destroyed immediately after the fall of the heresy, for the block under discussion was found built into a pylon of Horemheb, the first king of the full restoration. It was in this temple that the new constructions mentioned in the Silsileh inscription, which dates from the earliest years of Akhenaton, were carried out.

Akhenaton, then, did not invent a new deity, but merely brought into unique prominence one who already existed and possessed temples in the time of his father. There were, moreover, priests of the Aton at Heliopolis¹ under Amenophis III., probably in a temple called "The Aton is watchful in Heliopolis" which we know to have existed there, and a Syrian town called *Hi-na-tu-na*, which looks like a compound containing

¹ *Recueil de Travaux*, VI., pp. 52 ff.

Aton, is mentioned in one of the Tell el-Amarna letters which Knudtzon would assign to the reign of Amenophis III.

In what, then, precisely did Akhenaton's reformation consist? It consisted in taking the god known as the Aton or Disk, who was already a member of the Egyptian pantheon, and possibly nothing more than an aspect of Re, the Sun-god, making him the sole deity, the creator and ruler not only of Egypt, but also of Nubia and Syria, in fact of the whole Egyptian world, and representing him under the form not of the old sun-god Horus, but as a disk from which shoot rays, ending in hands which present symbols of life to the king. And here be it noticed that there is one sense in which the new religion formed a continuation of the old. Akhenaton's religion was a form of sun-worship, and what else but sun-worship had been the state religion of Egypt since the Fifth Dynasty? True, the Sun-god had from time to time been combined with other deities in the easy Egyptian fashion; in early times with Atum and Horus, and in later times with Amun under the form of Amun-re. Akhenaton accomplished two things: he broke away from the syncretism Amun-Re by returning to a worship of the sun under its own form (a fact which lends some colour to the belief that the movement was merely a political one directed against the all too powerful priesthood of Amun), and he established what has generally been called a monotheism.

Great objection has been taken by some to the use of this last term on the ground that a true monotheism involves the suppression of all gods but the one, and that such a complete suppression cannot be proved in the case of Akhenaton. This is the view lately expressed by Max Müller in his *Egyptian Mythology*, and supported by Samuel Mercer.¹ Mercer maintains that the persecution of other gods and the erasure of their names did not go beyond Amun and his circle. It is true that there is little or no proof that it did, but this may be due to the very simple fact that practically the only temples of pre-Akhenaton date preserved to us are in or near Thebes, and therefore contained no divine names other than those of the cycle of Amun. The rigorous erasure of the plural word "gods" distinctly points to monotheism, and it would surely be cavilling to argue that it was abhorred only because it frequently stood for Amun and his group. At the same time it must be remembered that

¹ *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, III, pp. 70 ff.

at the Speos Artemidos only the name of Amun was expunged, though other gods are mentioned there, and in order to explain this we should have to suppose that there was an early period in the history of the new faith when the persecution had not yet extended to the whole pantheon. This, however, is a point which future excavation may clear up. ζ

Mercer, however, attacks the use of the term monotheism on other grounds than these. In the boundary stelæ of El Amarna, dated to the sixth year Akhenaton in his titulary still includes his "Two Goddesses" name. This, according to Mercer, shows that the king still recognized the goddesses Nekhbet and Buto. This is most doubtful. The *nbty*, or "Two Goddesses" name, had been from time immemorial one of the royal names, like the "Horus" name and the "Son of Re" name. Akhenaton complied with tradition to the extent of using all the five names prescribed by custom, and the fact that one of these was known as the "Two Goddesses" name no more proves that he recognized the two goddesses than the description of William as a Christian name proves that William Smith or William Brown is a Christian. As reasonably might it be argued that Akhenaton believed in the Goddess Maat because, when he wanted to write the word for truth or justice, he made use of a hieroglyph consisting of a figure of this deity.¹

Still more unacceptable is Mercer's argument when he would have us believe that Akhenaton was no monotheist because he took to himself the title of "The Good God" and because he had a priesthood of his own. "The Good God" was a regular title of the Egyptian king, and Akhenaton regarded himself as a living incarnation of Aton just as every Pharaoh was the representative on earth of Horus. Priests of the reigning Pharaoh are frequently mentioned in the Old Kingdom and occur, though more rarely, in the XII Dynasty, and it was purely in accordance with Egyptian conservatism if Akhenaton, when he abolished all gods but one, did not surrender the prescriptive right of an Egyptian king to a secondary worship,² particularly in view of his claim to be the medium through which the new cult was

¹ Mercer is, however, quite right in claiming that the description of the Aton as "Sole God beside whom there is no other" does not suffice to prove monotheism. The phrase was used of various Egyptian gods.

² On this point see Davies' admirably sober discussion of the whole question in *El Amarna*, I. pp. 44 ff.

revealed to men. If this constitutes polytheism there would be good reason for classing Christianity under that head.

Other deities which Mercer suggests may have been still recognized by Akhenaton are Re the Sun-god, Hapi the Nile-god, and the Mnevis bull. With regard to the first, suffice it to say that though we may not know exactly how the king interpreted the relation of the Aton to Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon, it is obvious from the very name given by him to this new deity that Re, Horus-of-the-Horizon and the Aton were not two nor yet three but one. Moreover, an inspection of the passages quoted by Mercer as evidence for the recognition of the Nile-god, reveals the fact that they identify the Aton or the king not with the Nile-god but with the Nile, the Aton, which is the creator of everything, being *ipso facto* the Nile, which is the cause of all existence and growth in Egypt. In any case, to say that Aton is the Nile-god would be to speak not of two gods but of one. Finally, the title "Strong Bull" borne by the king by no means proves the recognition of the Mnevis Bull as a god. The bull is throughout Egyptian history a symbol for strength and virility. The reference to Mnevis and his burial at Akhetaton, in the Boundary Stelæ K, X and M, only serves to show how closely connected the Disk-worship was at the outset with the cults of Heliopolis, the home of Sun-worship in Egypt from time immemorial.

If all the evidence be taken into account, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that what Akhenaton aimed at was a true monotheism. If it was occasionally marred by traces of polytheism, it is no more than might have been expected when we consider the tremendous power of the long polytheistic tradition against which the reformer had to contend. Be it remembered, too, that from the moment of the move to El Amarna we lose all sense of perspective, and are totally unable, from our lack of dated material, to follow any development in the king's system. It is hardly likely that so powerful a mind stood still for eleven years, and excavation may reveal stages in the movement of which we have as yet no idea.

The revolution in religion was accompanied by a revolution in art. The old established canons of the Egyptian sculptor and painter were laid aside, and an art of much greater freedom and naturalism took their place. This is the art so well known to us from El Amarna itself, and of late more abundantly illustrated

than ever before by the discovery, during the German excavations, of a sculptor's workshop, left just as it was when ruin overtook the Aton-city, nearly 4300 years ago. There lie the plaster casts, the rough sketches in stone, executed doubtless by the pupils and marked with alterations by the master, one Dhoutmose by name, together with finished statues and groups only awaiting delivery.

What was the origin of this new style, which suddenly came to the untroubled surface of Egyptian art and disturbed it for a few brief moments? Discussion is still rife on this point, but, oddly enough, it has, in Germany at least, raged most fiercely around a point of comparatively small importance, namely, whether Akhenaton in the early years of his reign did or did not tolerate the old school of art, or, in other words, whether we possess any works of art datable to his reign which do not yet show the new style so familiar at El Amarna. Schaefer is the champion of the affirmative side. It is true that the Berlin block from the Aton temple in Karnak mentioned above, long held to be a proof that at an early period in the reign the old art still held its own, can no longer serve as evidence for this since Borchardt discovered the change of cartouche on it. But quite lately Schaefer has adduced in support of his hypothesis a photograph of a relief on the pylon of the temple of Soleb in Nubia, where a king represented in the old conventional style is accompanied by the cartouches of Akhenaton, free, to all appearance, from any alteration except the usual and expected change of Amenophis to Akhenaton¹ in the second cartouche. To this Borchardt replied with a photograph on a larger scale which distinctly shows that the first cartouche has originally been that of Amenophis III. and has been clumsily altered to that of Akhenaton. This was obviously a heavy score for Borchardt, but Schaefer, nothing daunted, still clings to his thesis, supporting it, among other evidence, by the reliefs in the tomb of a certain Ramose at Thebes, who lived under Amenophis III. and Akhenaton, dying in the reign of the latter. Here, in one part of the tomb, is a figure of a king and attendant in the old style, and in another a similar group in the new manner, but the cartouches in both cases are those of Akhenaton. The first figure shows distinct signs of having at one time been plastered over. Schaefer's explanation is that both figures represent Akhenaton, but that

¹ This change was doubtless made on all existing monuments in the sixth year.

the first was executed before the change in religion and art, which he regards as having been simultaneous in the sixth year. After the change, at which time the tomb was unfinished, the figure in the old style was covered with a coat of plaster on which a figure in the new style was executed, the cartouche being of course left untouched, and on the other wall fresh scenes were added, naturally in the new style.

Borchardt is ready with an answer. He believes that the grave was begun under Amenophis III. and that the relief in the old style was complete all but the name when the king died. The figure was then plastered over with a figure of the new king, Akhenaton, whose name was inserted. Unless a closer examination of the tomb reveals new evidence it is difficult to see how we can decide between these two explanations.

We have not space here to discuss the two reliefs which Schaefer regards as marking the transition from the old style to the new during the first five years of the reign. Suffice it to say that he is unable for the moment to point to any undoubted instance of the new art which can be unequivocally dated to this period, so that the honours for the time being would seem to rest with Borchardt. But surely the point is somewhat trivial. If there was a change, as there undoubtedly was, and if it did not take place in the reign of Amenophis III.,¹ then it must have taken place in the reign of Akhenaton; and as a boy of thirteen is hardly likely to have introduced a new art at his accession the old art must have continued some short distance into his reign, and however abrupt the transition, there must have been a few works of art in the old style executed under Akhenaton. Whether we possess any of these is surely a mere matter of chance.

On the other hand, Schaefer has some wise words to say on the subject of the artistic change in general. He remarks that the new art did not come out of nothing. The germ must have been there, and perhaps what enabled it to develop was the fact that the young king afforded his protection to a school of artists who were striving after new things, and, by giving them the state contracts to execute, enabled them to impose their art on the country. It must be realized that in Egypt art was almost wholly engaged in the service of the state or its higher servants. Consequently, though in a nation of such great artists new ideas must from time to time have arisen, official

¹ We may yet find that it did.

conservatism usually succeeded in stifling them. Schaefer may even be right in his suggestion that in view of the complete uniformity of the new art it was the outcome of a single great master whom the king's favour had brought to the highest artistic position in the state.

To what extent the new art was a reflex of the new religion it is difficult to say. Attention has quite rightly been drawn, first I believe by Petrie, to the passion for truth exhibited by the reformer. One of his titles is "Living on Truth," no mere idle boast, as is proved by various circumstances, and Schaefer goes so far as to suggest that the same striving after truth which is responsible for the new religion is also responsible for the strong naturalism of the new art. This question seems to be so entirely dependent on whether we regard the revolution of Akhenaton as a purely political move or as a really new philosophy, a question which we have not attempted to deal with here. If the king changed the state religion simply to escape the power of the priesthood of Amun it is equally likely that he gladly encouraged any novelty in art which happened to be to hand in order to accentuate the break. If, on the other hand, he was a great philosopher with a message for the world, it is probable that he chose this form of art precisely because it embodied ideas in some way corresponding to those which he wished to disseminate.

JESSE HAWORTH
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE MANCHESTER
EGYPTIAN ASSOCIATION.

BY WINIFRED M. CROMPTON.

IN Dr. Jesse Haworth we have lost one of the greatest English supporters of Egyptian archæological research, and the man to whom Manchester's connection with that research is almost entirely due. It is owing to his long continued and generous gifts to the funds of scientific excavators that the Manchester Museum possesses so fine a collection of Egyptian antiquities, while the National Gallery, the British Museum, and other institutions also have been enriched through him. The amassing of antiquities is, indeed, but the least part of the work of an archæologist. Many wealthy men before Dr. Haworth had formed great collections and presented them to their native cities. The quest for such antiquities unfortunately has often been the incitement of ignorant or unscrupulous persons to destroy priceless historical evidence in a ransacking of sites for saleable articles. It was the great merit of Dr. Haworth that, very soon after his interest in Egypt developed, he realised the right course to take, and, resisting the temptation to buy through dealers, gave liberally to the excavations of trained archæologists. In fact, he may be called the pioneer of *scientific donors* to archæology, just as Flinders Petrie, whose work above all he supported, has been termed the pioneer of *scientific excavators*. Thus, valuable as the collection in our Museum is, the less tangible treasures—the historical and archæological facts discovered in acquiring objects—far outweigh the actual objects in importance.

It was in 1880 that Mr. and Mrs. Haworth made a tour up the Nile, as far as the second cataract. To prepare them for this, they had read Miss Amelia Edwards' book *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*. A few years later they met the authoress, and they all became firm friends. She told them how the chair and the chessboard and men of the great queen Hatshepsut were hidden in an Arab house at Luxor, and through the Rev. Greville Chester, Mr. Haworth bought these. They were exhibited in Manchester

at the Jubilee Exhibition of 1887, and at its close were presented to the British Museum, where they hold now a conspicuous place.

It was Miss Edwards who first drew their attention to the great merit of Dr. Flinders Petrie, before they met him for the first time at the meeting of the British Association in Manchester in 1887. Mr. Haworth, struck by his ability, undertook to bear a considerable portion of the costs of his next excavations. Another friend, Mr. Martyn Kennard, bore an equal share. This arrangement lasted for nine years, during which Mr. Haworth had the disposal of a third of all that was found. The great bulk of his share he handed on to the Manchester Museum, a few articles only, of outstanding importance, going elsewhere. Many of Petrie's most important discoveries took place during this period. For instance, at Hawara were found the mummy portraits in hot-coloured wax, which he was able to date to the Roman period, and which show us the Greco-Roman style of painting. The finest of these were given appropriately to the National Gallery, but a goodly number came here. Besides these, interesting papyri, such as the second book of the Iliad, now in the Bodleian Library, were unearthed. The pyramids of Amenemhet III. and Senusert II. were identified, the first that were shown to be of the twelfth dynasty; the towns of Kahun and Gurob, full of the everyday articles of the Twelfth and Eighteenth dynasties respectively, were laid bare. The oldest undoubted mummy was discovered and the early history of the hieroglyphs greatly elucidated, at Medum. The excavations at Tell el-Amarna brought a flood of light on that fascinating personality, King Akhenaton, the "heretic." The mysterious statues of Min, now at Oxford, were part of the result of work at Koptos. Then followed the most important find perhaps of all—the predynastic cemeteries at Naqada, and lastly the work on Theban Temples and the finding of the great stele of Merenptah on which the people of Israel are mentioned. "All these results," writes Petrie in *Six Temples of Thebes*, "are due to the public spirit of the two friends who have been ever ready to let me draw on their purses for such work. My best thanks, and those of the public, are due to them for thus assisting in filling up our knowledge of Ancient Egypt. How much this means we may feel by just trying to imagine what our views would be now, without this insight, at almost every age, into the civilisation and works of that country."

After 1896, Professor Petrie worked in connection with the Egypt Exploration Fund until the foundation of the British School of Archæology in Egypt, of which he became Honorary Director. It is one of the fundamental rules of both these bodies, that all antiquities found are sent to public museums, and they are distributed according to the amount subscribed by residents in the neighbourhood of the various institutions. As Mr. Haworth supported these excavations liberally, a large number of objects were received each year at the Manchester Museum, where for years they had to be stored in an attic. The Jesse Haworth Building, in which they are now exhibited, we owe, as its name implies, chiefly to him, and he also provided that important, but often overlooked, item, the show cases. This building was opened on October 30th, 1912, by Mr. Haworth. Up to then, he had kept in his own house some of the smaller and more attractive objects from the years of private excavations, but after this he and Mrs. Haworth gave up every one to the Museum, where children now take huge delight in the terracotta model of a sedan chair, complete with two porters and a passenger, and in the lizard-shaped slate palette, while the coptic cloths are of great interest to designers and workers with the needle.

In 1913, Mr. Haworth received from the University the degree of Doctor of Laws, in recognition of his services to the cause of learning. It was through him that Manchester Museum soon after became possessed of the jewellery from Riqqeh, unique in Europe.

When the University appeal for funds was inaugurated in 1919, Dr. Haworth's name headed the list with a gift of £10,000 to be devoted to Museum purposes, and in his will he has bequeathed the sum of £30,000 with a like design.

Dr. Haworth's connection with the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society dates from its inception in October, 1906, for he and Mrs. Haworth were original members, and he was elected President at the first meeting. He held the office for two years, and on his resignation in 1908 was succeeded by Dr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford.

In December, 1912, Dr. Haworth read, at a meeting of the Society, a paper on "The Progress of Egyptology in Manchester." Besides the general interest of the paper, one could not fail to note the skill and modesty with which he avoided all but the

most necessary references to his own share in the matter. A full account appeared in the Report of our Society for 1912-13.

Though increasing age prevented him in recent years from attending the meetings of our Society, he continued to take an interest in its progress, and on our appeal for donations to the Special Publications Fund last summer, his was the chief response. His hope, however, had been, to arouse through the Museum and the Society, sufficient interest in Egyptology to support such a small venture as our *Journal* without dependence on the gifts of one man, and it was, I think, a disappointment to him that occasionally such gifts were required. There are signs that such an interest is developing keenly among the younger generation. The memory of Dr. Jesse Haworth will be cherished and honoured more and more as the years go on, by students zealous to use what he has provided so munificently.

SOME NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE city of Erech is referred to in *Gen.* x, 10, as one of the four cities originally founded by Nimrod in Babylonia. Loftus, as a result of his explorations, fixed its site at the modern *Warka*. Although little is known of the history of the city, the enormous mounds and ruins which are scattered over a very wide area suggest that in ancient times it must have contained a considerably large population, whilst the frequency with which it is referred to in Babylonian and Assyrian literature shows how profound was its influence on the imagination of the Babylonian literati.

That Erech was also a city of considerable commercial prosperity can be learned from the numerous commercial documents which have been discovered there dating from various periods right down to 200 B.C. We have inscriptions from Erech dating back to the early reigns of Dungi, Ur-Bau and Gudea, whilst the later Babylonian kings have left many traces of their building and restoration work.

The tablets which have been published recently by Professor Clay (*Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, Yale University Press, 1919, 21s. net; Agent in England, Humphrey Milford) add nothing new to our knowledge of the history of the city, but tend to confirm and corroborate the information which we have obtained from other sources. *Warka* was given by the discoverer of the archive as the provenance of the tablets, and this is proved beyond question by the fact that the administrative documents with which the letters were found intermingled were dated in that city. The letters deal chiefly with all sorts of business affairs in connection with the management of the property of E-anna, the Temple of Erech. There are references also, however, to arrangements for the celebration of the festivals, the repair of canals, and even military and social affairs.

Fortunately, we can fix the dates of most of the letters, at least with some degree of certainty. The form and character of the script is similar to those of other letters of the Neo-Babylonian period. Some letters contain references to the date at which they were written; the dates of others may be conjectured from their contents.

Text No. 175 is dated "19th of Shebet, of the 11th year of Darius, king of Countries." Text No. 176 is dated in the same reign. Letters Nos. 1 and 3 were almost certainly written by Nebuchadrezzar, whilst Nos. 2 and 4 were most probably written during the reign of Nabonidus, for they are addressed to Kurbanni-Marduk whom we know to have been a director of the storehouse in that reign. It is also of interest to note that letter 115 refers to an intercalary month Ve-Adar to be introduced in the 15th year, and we know from other sources that there was a Ve-Adar introduced in the fifteenth year of the reign of Nabonidus.

Letter 196 also evidently belongs to the reign of Nabonidus. There is a reference here to the introduction of a Second Elul in the middle of the year, and the tenth year of Nabonidus is the only period of Neo-Babylonian history when this change could have been made. One may say therefore that these letters were written during the period from Ashurbanipal to Darius I. (522-486 B.C.). Furthermore, many of the names mentioned are found also in other documents dealing with temple officials from the period suggested.

Finally, it is of interest to note that Bel, Nabu, and Marduk, the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, are referred to so frequently as to suggest a strong connection between these towns and Erech at this period.

M. H. F.

We wish it had been possible to devote a special article to a work recently published, which is of outstanding importance, the Rylands Library edition of *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (vol. i., The Text with facsimile reproductions, 1916, 10s. 6d. net; vol. ii., The Translation with Introduction and Notes, 1920, £1 1s. net). The authors are Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana, and anyone who has any interest in Semitic Languages will feel that a stronger combination of special qualifications could hardly have been found. Rendel Harris's name will always be associated particularly with the Odes of Solomon, which he discovered in a Syriac manuscript in 1909, and published for the first time in the same year (Cambridge). Two years later there appeared (Cambridge, 1911) *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, published from the Syriac Version, second edition revised and enlarged, with a facsimile*. Since the publication of these two early editions, the Odes have been much studied and dis-

cussed from various points of view by many scholars, including Alphonse Mingana, and have been much re-read and re-studied by Rendel Harris himself. The time was ripe therefore for a re-editing, such as we are now provided with. The Rylands Library edition is likely to be regarded for many years as the standard work, and no library, in which any importance is attached to Semitic languages and literatures, can dispense with these valuable volumes.

The person who is regarded by the Jainas as the real founder of their religion is best known as Vīra or Mahāvīra. He seems to have been a historical character, and is supposed to have lived either in the last half of the sixth or in the first half of the fifth century B.C. But there have been other Jaina Saviours. One of these was Pārçvanātha, who is said by the Jainas to have been born in 817 B.C. That he was really a historical personage has not been proved. But there have gathered round his name doctrines which are fundamental in Jaina religion and legends which enrich the storehouse of Hindu fiction. In 1912 an account of the life of Pārçvanātha by Bhāvadeva was published in India. This gave to the western world the first complete biography. A digest of this work has now been published by Professor Maurice Bloomfield with the title *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University, 1919, pp. vii. +254). The book will prove of great interest to students of Oriental literature, and of special interest to those who are pursuing the comparative study of legends. There are, for instance, legends here which remind us of such Biblical narratives as the story of David and Uriah (p. 130) and the parable of the talents (p. 120). We do not mean that there is any close resemblance, but that the one story recalls the other in a way that is interesting and noteworthy. Professor Bloomfield's work contains valuable notes and appendices, and a useful index of subjects.

The latest addition to "The Religious Quest of India" series is a handbook by one of the editors, J. N. Farquhar, entitled *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. xxviii. +451, 18s. net). In preparing this handbook, Dr. Farquhar has grappled courageously with a stupendous task, and in publishing it he has supplied

a pressing need. Many of the religious writings of India are books written to explain the doctrines or to support the claims of various schools or sects. In giving an account of the literature, therefore, there is much that may be said about phases of religion. Consequently, when the subject is treated with some thoroughness, as it has been treated by Dr. Farquhar, it is as full of religious as it is of literary interest. The book contains a vast amount of information; and its value is enhanced by an elaborate bibliography (pp. 362-405) and a very comprehensive index (pp. 407-457).

M. A. C.

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